UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

THE

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

EDITED BY

G. STANLEY HALL

President of Clark University and Professor of Psychology and Education.

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

THÉODORE FLOURNOY, University of Geneva; JAMES H. LEUBA, Bryn Mawr College; EDWIN D. STARBUCK, State University of Iowa; R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, JEAN DU BUY, and others

VOL. 4

MARCH, 1910—JULY, 1911

LOUIS N. WILSON, PUBLISHER

Worcester, Mass.

12/5-49

3/4/12

COPYRIGHT, 1911, BY G. STANLEY HALL

THE COMMONWEALTH PRESS
WORCESTER, MASS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Broene, Johannes. The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche	68
Carpenter, Edward. On the Connection between Homosexuality and Divination	219
Magni, J. A. The Ethnological Background of the Eucharist	1
Mayer-Oakes, F. T. The Authority of Jesus	177
Morse, Josiah. Religion and Immorality	243
Pratt, James Bissett. An Empirical Study of Prayer	48
Whatham, Arthur E. The Sign of the Mother-Goddess	251

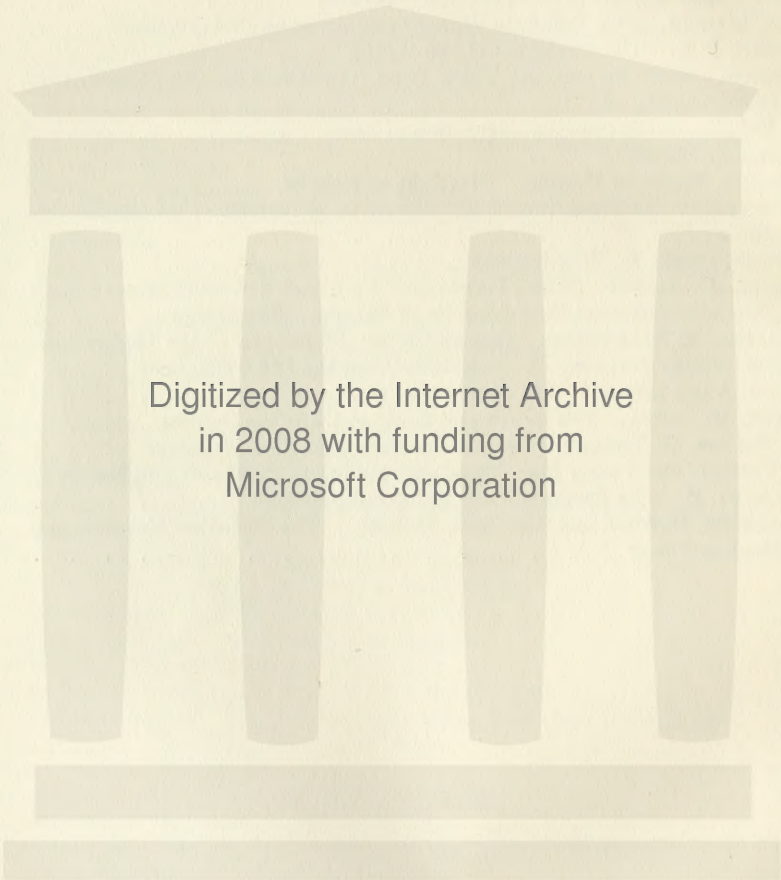
BOOKS REVIEWED.

PAGE

AMES, EDWARD SCRIBNER. The Psychology of Religious Experience . . 311
ATKINSON, LOUISE WARREN. Directions for Home Study 317
AYRE, G. B. Suggestions for a Syllabus in Religious Teaching 316
BEGBIE, HAROLD. In the Hand of the Potter 319
BERGUER, GEORGES. La Notion de Valeur; sa nature psychique; son importance en théologie 171
BROWN, CHARLES REYNOLDS. Faith and Health 317
BURRELL, ARTHUR, *ed.* The Shorter Bible for the Use of Schools and for Home Reading 311
CARUS, PAUL, *tr.* Angelus Silesius, a selection from the Rhymes of German mystics 319
COIT, STANTON. The Spiritual Nature of Man 316
CONYBEARE, F. C. History of New Testament Criticism 316
CRONIN, MICHAEL. The Science of Ethics 313
CYON, ELIE DE. Dieu et Science 317
DAWSON, GEORGE E. The Child and his Religion 318
DEGROOT, J. M. The Religion of the Chinese 318
DICKINSON, G. LOWES. Is Immortality Desirable 174
DURAND-PALLOT, CHARLES. La Cure d'ame Moderne et ses Bases Religieuses et Scientifiques 315
FORBUSH, WILLIAM BYRON. Church Work with Boys 311
FORSYTH, P. T. The Person and Place of Jesus Christ 314
THE FUNDAMENTALS. A Testimony to the Truth 315
GUIGNEBERT, CHARLES. L'Evolution des Dogmes 310
HACKWOOD, FREDERICK WILLIAM. Christ Lore 313
HALL, CHARLES CUTHBERT. Christ and the Eastern Soul 319
HALL, THOMAS CUMING. History of Ethics within Organized Christianity . 313
HAMILL, HENRY. The Truth we owe to Youth 312
HUCKEL, OLIVER. Mental Medicine 317
JONES, JOHN P. The Modern Missionary Challenge 312
JONES, RUGUS M. Studies in Mystical Religion 174
JORDON, LOUIS H. The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities . . 173
KING, HENRY CHURCHILL. The Ethics of Jesus 311
KING, IRVING. The Development of Religion 317
LEUBA, JAMES H. The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion . 172
LINDSAY, JAMES. The Psychology of Belief 312
MATHEWS, SHAILER. The Gospel of the Modern Man. 315
MCCOMB, SAMUEL. Christianity and the Modern Mind 314
MONTGOMERY, GEORGE R. The Unexplored Self 315
MORISON, ELIZABETH and LAMONT, FRANCIS. An Adventure 312

PAGE

NINCK, JOHANNES. Jesus als Charakter 312
PARKER, E. H. Studies in Chinese Religion 316
PRASAD, RAMA. True Hinduism. Part the First. First Steps in the Yoga of Action 173
Prolegomena to Theism 312
PRYSE, JAMES M., *tr.* The Apocalypse unsealed 314
RADE, MARTIN. Das Religiöse Wunder und Anderes, drei Vorträge . . 176
RAWSON, F. L. The Evolution of the World 310
RELIGION. First, Second and Third Book (Catholic Education Series, Professor Shields, *ed.*) 315
The Religion of the Spiritual Evolution of Man 310
Reserrectio Christi 175
ROWLAND, ELEANOR HARRIS. The right to Believe 318
SAINTYVES, P. Le Discernment du Miracle ou le Miracle et les Quatre Critiques 316
SAMPTER, JESSIE E. The Seekers 313
SEEBERG, D. ALFRED. Christi Person und Werk nach der Lehre seiner Jünger 310
The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge 176
SHUMAKER, E. ELLSWORTH. God and Man; Philosophy of the Higher Life 314
SNYDER, HENRY NELSON, *ed.* Selections from the Old Testament . . . 319
STRONG, ANNA LOUISE. The Psychology of Prayer 176
STURGE, M. CARTA. The Truth and Error of Christian Science 176
VAN VELZER, H. THODEN. System des Religiösen Materialismus . . . 173
The Vision of the Young Man Menelaus; studies of Pentecost and Easter . 315
WIELANDT, R. Die Programm der Religionpsychologie 311
WORCESTER, ELWOOD and MCCOMB, SAMUEL. The Christian Religion as a Healing Power 318


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/journalofreligio04worcuoft

THE AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY
AND EDUCATION

VOLUME 4 MARCH, 1910 NOS. 1–2

THE ETHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EUCHARIST

BY J. A. MAGNI

Fellow in Psychology, Clark University

Imbued with the idea that law prevails everywhere, the author has endeavored to discover the root idea of sacramental eating, to trace this antique and curious rite under a multitude of forms in some of the leading cults of antiquity and thus to establish its genetic development. Extensive researches have revealed the fact that eucharistic rites reach back into the dim, prehistoric past of the race. Our inquisitive age brings us constant surprises. History is being re-written because archæology, aided by the spade and the pick, calls forth, out of their long forgotten tombs, peoples that lived millenniums ago, literary documents of stone, brick and papyrus are eagerly searched for, brought to light and deciphered, historical sources, consulted by older writers, are being restudied with more critical acumen and in accordance with new improved scientific methods, and last, but not least, the modern science of anthropology studies living primitive peoples and tribes, thus throwing a flood of light on ancient as well as modern civilization. Comparative religion, including comparative mythology, has wellnigh revolutionized the educated man's conception of religion, the most sacred legacy from an immemorial past. The results of all these investigations have brought it home to the student with overwhelming force that re-

The following dissertation is only the last or fifth chapter of a more exhaustive treatise of the subject, which, in the near future, may appear in book form.

ligion is a natural growth, and not a supernatural revelation. Surveying the Appoline, Dionysiac, Orphic, Soma, Haoma, Semitic, Mithraic, Aztec and Peruvian cults one discovers sacramental rites or faint traces of such in all of them. The remarkable thing is that all, however far apart in space or time, embody as their basic idea the prescientific notion of sympathetic magic. Primitive man believed that the qualities of a person or thing could be transferred by mere contact. But the surest way to assimilate such qualities was by eating and drinking. Now, whatever object was believed to be the embodiment of the deity was therefore sacramentally eaten for the purpose of absorbing the divine attributes, and for renewing or strengthening the physical bond between the tribe and its totem god. In the earliest stages of human culture only material benefits were naturally sought, and the most efficacious means was then believed to be the eating the raw or living flesh of a human being and the drinking of its warm blood. In a more advanced civiliaztion, the theanthropic animal, as less repulsive, took the place of the human victim. Crudely enough the deity was supposed to take part in this cannibalic sacrament. Later the god's share was sublimated and etherealized by being burnt on the altar. In the Soma, but especially, the Haoma and Orphic sacraments, the idea had been so far refined and spiritualized that the deity's moral and spiritual attributes, such as moral purity, righteousness, spiritual illumination and immortality, were for the most part sought and believed to be transmitted through sacramental rites. Thus it is easy to see how a subtler, finer and more spiritual conception of the sacrament gradually takes possession of man's mind and finally supplants the extremely crass primitive notion.

The orthodox Christian owing to age-long prepossessions in favor of a final, infallible and supernatural revelation will no doubt refuse to concede such a natural evolution of the Christian Eucharist. The reason is obvious. He believes in gaps, discontinuity in the chain of causation. When in 1859 Darwin's epoch-making work, The Origin of Species, appeared it was most violently opposed by the theologians who believed in special, disconnected acts of creation. It has taken half a century to overcome the opposition and mollify the *odium theologicum*, but to-day science stands victorious. As regards revelation and religious truth the orthodox Christian is just as pre-scientific to-day. Not by evolution from within through a natural interpretation of his sensuous perceptions and ethical experiences has man come into possession of the highest

religious truths as found in the Bible, he says, but by a veritable divine *fiat lux in tenebris* of man's soul darkened, corrupted and incapacitated by the Fall. In other words, the orthodox Christian believes in the injection from a source *extra mentem humanam* of certain doctrines and adumbrations of preturnatural truths in mysterious rites or divine *avatars* wholly beyond man's comprehension. He is therefore quite consistent in rejecting every attempt at a natural interpretation of the Eucharist, the most central and sacred rite of the Christian cult, for he believes that Jesus, who was God manifested in the flesh, instituted it *de novo* and bequeathed it to his disciples shortly before his death. But our age is unsparing and iconoclastic. Science has laid its axe to the root of the mythological tree, primitive ideas, springing from phyletic and congenital dispositions that are thousands of years old are slowly being eradicated, immense dogmatic structures venerable with age are being undermined. Last to yield, and evincing the greatest vitality, seems to be that fatal incubus, divine authority and infallibility so long attributed to the Church and the Bible, wellnigh stifling a spontaneously unfolding spiritual life. It is the sincere love of truth as expressed in modern science that alone can emancipate the human soul, make it large, complete, tolerant and truly religious. Then when purged of its materialism, superstition and anthropomorphic God, its rites and dogmas rooted in a primitive and savage past, the Christian Church may once more become a protagonist in the world's idealizing activity, and not be, as at present, an almost negligible quantity among the élite spirits in the kingdom of thought, its chief support being the intellectual *plebs*.

It is the survival of primitive thought that makes the greater part of the religious rituals and dogmas of the world possible. Nothing but a thorough scientific training can change this primitive habit of mind, lifting man to that higher plane of mental freedom and self-poise so essential for the apperception of truth. Slowly and steadily science and philosophy are building the temple of truth, broad as the universe, and high as the heavens whose vaults will resound immortality and hide no superstition nor corruption. The service in this sanctuary will not consist in genuflexions, prayers, incense or sacramental rites, but in joyous, creative activity in the delectable fields of beauty, goodness and truth.

The Christian Eucharist.

The Orient is the Great Mother of religions and mysteries. The real cause of this phenomenon must be sought in the natural environment, the peculiar *naturel* and temperament of the inhabitants, their leisurely mode of life and their tendency to contemplation and wonder. Whatever bent there was in that direction before the sixth century B. C. at that period it seems to have received a new and decided impulse. Then, as stated in the chapter on the Dionysiac and Orphic cults, a remarkable religious revivalism arose in the north Semitic area which spread rapidly over Greece, Egypt, Italy and all Asia Minor. In the chapter on Sacramentalism among the Semites it was shown that the gift-theory of sacrifice had gradually supplanted the primitive sacrifice of communion in the living flesh and blood of the sacrosanct or theanthropic animal. Among the historic Hebrews it has already taken full possession of the established worship so that in the Old Testament, sacraments, technically speaking, do not exist. In the historic rites, however, we found clear traces of the earlier prehistoric sacraments. But in the sixth century B. C. people begin to think that the officially long established sacrifices as tributes to the deity, were not efficacious and powerful enough to avert the divine wrath that seemed to visit the chosen nation. For this reason extraordinary piacular sacrifices were instituted. These were found in the primitive ones that had survived and were still practiced in unprogressive places or at country shrines. Here animals, forbidden as unclean in the official Hebrew religion, but believed to be of a mysterious and divine nature, were sacrificed and their flesh ceremonially eaten. The revived cult is supposed to have travelled to Greece and Asia Minor in the form of purificatory ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus we are told that Epimenides was called by the Athenians from Crete in 596 B. C. to purify their city because it had been polluted by the murder of Cylon's adherents at the altars of the gods. Epimenides ordered the Athenians to let loose sheep from the Parthenon in different directions and on the spot where they happened to lie down to erect an altar to the unknown god of the place and immolate them. It was one of these altars to "an unknown god," not "the unknown God," as the authorized English version has it, to which Paul refers in his speech to the Athenians, Acts 17 : 22. A general spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction with the present prevailed. No

heroes, no great deeds to absorb everybody's interest. Hence, according to Macrobius, the watchword became, *Vetustas adoranda est.* Linus and Orpheus arise out of the hoary past and are regarded as founders of deep mysteries, the surest means of communion with the great chthonian deities and of preparation for entrance into their mysterious realm. The older and quainter the cult, the more reverence is paid to it. In periods of transition and unrest the religious instinct is certain to burst forth with peculiar elemental strength. The dark, sad conception of life and the world, born of a comparison between the glorious past and the ignominious, commonplace present, mostly results in religious reflection and introspection, the Solomonic feeling of *vanitas vanitatum* is inevitable. This implies also the sense of the moral impotency and impurity of human nature, as well as a desire for salvation; a longing for divine aid, illumination and in the next world immortality. And these are the chief characteristics of the mysteries. An Egyptian sepulchral inscription reads as follows: "May Osiris give thee the cold water." Since "cold water" and "living water" are synonyms in the Orient, the meaning is clear. Isis promises her servant, in a dream recorded by Apulejus Metam XI, 6, protection in this life and the next. The approach to the underworld and gracious protection against the many perils awaiting the soul there are in the hands of the goddess who further informs her votary, the mystic: "Thou wilt learn that it is in my power alone to prolong thy life beyond the limits fixed by fate." The consecration itself is also said to be celebrated *ad instar voluntariae mortis et precariae salutis*, for the goddess leads those who through her grace have been born again (renatos) in new ways of salvation (*salutis curricula*). Thus a spirit of otherworldliness took possession of men. A morbid anxiety about the salvation of one's own soul supplanted a robust, healthy unconcern born of that genuine exuberant joy in the present life so characteristic of earlier Greek society. Man's oneness and identity with nature, so well expressed in the symmetry and harmony of Greek art, was lost when the Hellenic genius had reached its highest bloom and creative consummation about 300 B. C. For then philosophy achieved that fatal and definitive divorce between spirit and matter, the ego and the non-ego, which has ever since been its heaviest *crux*. This unbridgeable chasm of psychic disparateness has, of course, in all ages been vaguely adumbrated in a more or less deep religious *Sehnsucht*. But in the Oriental

mystery cults and in Christianity, springing from the same root, it attained its greatest intensity. Obsessed by this fatal sense of estrangement and spiritual impotence, man naturally looked for extraneous help, a superhuman leader, in a word, a savior. For few in that age of effeminacy and tearful supplication had the moral backbone, the sublime self-confidence that *Deus in copore humano hospitans* of an Epictetus or a Marcus Aurelius. Ages must still pass before this noble truth of human self-sufficiency, the only and actual *Deus in nobis hospitans*, becomes a racial possession. The age of mysteries is in one sense equivalent to a racial set-back, for it robbed man of that psychological πού στώ, so well expressed by Fr. Schiller, "Zuversicht ist die Mutter groszer Thaten." Will man ever fully regain it?

In this "mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht" of mystic spectres, enigmatic oracular responses, and ecstatic swoonings into the Absolute, man individually and collectively felt the need of reconciliation and a closer personal relation with the deity. To administer to the needs of individuals, itinerant priests of the mystery cults of Cybele, Bacchus, the Moon, etc., arose. In Greece they were called Agyrtes and went from place to place pitching their tents iu which the mysteries were celebrated. For the purpose of attracting attention they paraded the streets shouting and dancing frantically, carrying the sacred serpents, gashing their legs or cutting their tongues until the blood flowed profusely. Having thus drawn the attention of the populace they returned to their tents where were kept all the paraphernalia used in the ceremonies, such as a portable shrine, magic books and mirrors. Here all who so desired might consult the god. Of course, only those Agyrtes who remained in one place could found permanent religious societies. In Greece they were called either thiasi, erani or orgeones. They were legally organized, had constitutions and were recognized by the state as early as 594 B. C. in the time of Solon. They had rules and by-laws regulating the duties of the priest, the members, the care of the temple, the religious services, and the conditions of admission into the society. The neophytes had to pay an entrance fee and the officials, called either ἐπίσκοποι or ἐπιμελήται, were required to ascertain whether a candidate was fit for admission. They were elected annually by the congregation. "The duties of the priest or priestess were to conduct the sacrifices and rites, to open and close the temple at the proper times, to preside over the purification and initiation of members and to cele-

brate the mysteries for the performance of which the society existed." Charity seems to have been done chiefly on the principle of a mutual benefit society. But according to a recently discovered inscription the poorer members were sometimes aided by the wealthier brethren. It is also worthy of note that these religious bodies were "*voluntary* associations for religious purposes."

Their origin was as a rule very humble and insignificant because being entirely voluntary they depended for their growth and prosperity wholly on the interest of the public, just like a Christian church in the United States of to-day. The result was that many either died or never got beyond a rudimentary stage of existence. But some of these pre-Christian churches succeeded in winning popular favor by arousing and holding the interest of the community and hence grew strong and influential. In such a flourishing society instead of the priest or priestess being the only official, the duties for the maintenance of the organization had to be divided between the priest, a secretary, treasurer and president. In 1868 a very interesting inscription was discovered in the neighborhood of the silver mines at Laureion in Attica dating from the second century A. D. It is an evidence of how easily and simply the worship of an Oriental deity was established in Greece, and is also another proof of the influence of Oriental ideas in Europe. Oriental arms failed repeatedly to conquer Europe, but the Oriental gods were successful! The author of the inscription was a Lycian slave belonging to a certain Roman by the name of Caius Orbius. The moon, Mên Tyrannos, whose ancient worship in Babylonia, Palestine and Accad is well-known to students of Assyriology and cuneiform literature, had appeared in a vision to this poor ignorant miner and like the Apostle Paul somewhat earlier he "was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." Dreams, visions and ecstasies seem to have been very common at that period of religious ferment and transition when old religions were dying and new ones were in the birth-throes. These phenomena which the modern psychologists regard as sure symptoms of pathological disturbances were then taken literally as divine revelations. The results obtained by psychiatry and abnormal psychology certainly tend to prove that the visions and ecstacies of saints like St. Theresa, Maria degli Angeli and scores of others, as well as of modern clairvoyants and mediums, are entirely subjective and due to reduction and disease of the nervous system. The significance of this fact for religion is tremendous,

for Paul was a neurasthenic who believed in and pinned his faith on his own visions. Paul, a clear thinker, a mystic and a visionary combined, rather than Jesus, is the founder of historical Christianity. The bearing of this fact on our topic, the origin of the Christian Eucharist, will appear in the course of this chapter.

In the 2nd century of our era the moon god seems to have been a great favorite throughout Greece and Asia Minor, for he "figures on the coins of nearly all the towns of Phrygia, Lydia, and Pisidia, as well as on some of the monuments of Pamphylia, Caria and Thrace." This alone shows his immense popularity. Revivals characterized by intense religious fervor and excitement are generally accompanied by visions, hallucinations and ecstasies. The heart longs for a sight of the supernatural and believes to find its realization in these unusual subjective phenomena. Our modern revivals are proofs of this psychological fact. This Lycian slave had evidently come under the influence of a religious movement which swept over Asia Minor from the Semitic East. The inscription begins thus: "I Xanthos, a Lycian, belonging to Caius Orbius, have consecrated the temple of Mên Tyrannos, in conformity with the will of the god." Xanthos became the founder and priest of the cult in this place, wrote the law and regulations and "laid down the conditions under which the temple might be used, sacrifices offered, and *erani*, or banquets held." Demosthenes in his oration *De Corona* gives a brief account of the initiation into such a cult. First the candidate was placed under the protection of the god by wrapping him in a fawn skin. This was a survival of the old belief in animal gods during the totem stage when the god was believed to reside in the skin. The candidate was thus identified with the deity. The next step was a baptism of purification and regeneration, for no unclean person might approach the shrine or temple. Stripped of all his clothes the neophyte had to crouch upon the ground while bowls of water were poured over him. Sometimes the initiates were immersed and hence called Baptæ, the dipped or immersed ones, just as to-day the Baptists, a word derived from the same Greek root. Strange to say, however, some of these mystery cults used a mixture of clay and bran instead of water. The ceremonies were made very awe-inspiring by strange "ecstatic ejaculations from the attendants." When the initiation rites were ended the candidate was instructed to rise from his kneeling position and to cry out, ἔφυγον κακόν εὗρον ἄμεινον, "Bad have I escaped, better have

found." This phrase signified that the neophyte was now pure at heart and spiritually a new creature ready for the *mysterium tremendum*, the solemn rite whereby he was to become a partaker of the immortal life of his god, viz., the sacramental meal. Demosthenes' account of the rite is worth quoting, it runs in part as follows. The orator addresses himself to Aeschines: "After you were grown up, you attended your mother's initiations, reading books and helping in all the ceremonies; at night wrapping the novitiates in fawn-skin, swilling, purifying and scouring them with clay and bran, raising them after the lustration, and bidding them say, ἔφυγον κακὸν εὗρον ἄμεινον." It is well to note in this connection that this last phrase from Demosthenes has also been found on Orphic burial tablets unearthed in pre-Christian graves in Southern Italy and Crete, as already stated in the section on the Orphic cult. On these gold plates are inscribed the words repeated by the departed soul before Proserpina, "the Queen of them below." It is evident that its meaning to the mystæ is the same as is to Christians the expression, "I have passed from death unto life." Referring to the public demonstration of this kind of religion Demosthenes continues: "In the daytime you led your noble orgiasts, crowned with fennel and poplar, through the highways, squeezing the big-cheeked serpents, and lifting them over your head, and shouting, Evoi Saboi, and capering to the words Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes, saluted by the beldames as Leader, Conductor, Chest-bearer, Fan-bearer, etc."

From what has thus far been said, some striking parallels between these mystery cults and Christianity become quite apparent. The mysteries were entirely voluntary in their origin, springing from an inner conscious need of the individuals constituting them, to become reconciled with the higher powers, and it was this imperative need that made their continued existence possible. This is equally true of Christianity. The method of effecting this reconciliation of man to God is also the same in both, viz., bloody sacrifice and sacramental communion in the divine victim — both primitive conceptions. Both practiced baptism for the washing away of moral impurity and spiritual regeneration. Christianity as well as the mysteries held out a heaven of bliss and a hell of torments as a motive for attaining spiritual perfection. Such a motive is certainly not the most ideal but it was a real advance upon the common ethical norm of antiquity. Still it must not be forgotten that a far higher motive for action sometimes shines forth, especially in

the Orphic cult and later in Christianity, viz., love of spiritual purity and perfection. The Orphics, as has been pointed out, became so filled with love for purity and perfection that they desired immortality only that they might be absolutely pure and perfect, because they realized full well that this consummation, devoutely to be wished, could not be attained on earth. This categorical imperative was the ideal of the Orphics and of Plato, who was thoroughly imbued with Orphic ideas. For his strenuous insistence on righteousness as desirable in itself regardless of consequences is doubtless a precious fruit of this otherworldly mystery religion.

This hasty glance at the small and scattered religious organizations centuries before and after the birth of Christianity will help us better to understand the atmosphere and spiritual soil in which Christianity was born and grew to maturity. These religious societies were foregleams, prototypes of the churches planted by the apostle Paul in the very same regions. But in order that the ethnological background of the Christian Eucharist be as thoroughly outlined as possible we must briefly pass in review the Mithraic and Gnostic sacraments. The growth, extension and propagandism of these sects throughout Europe and Asia Minor make it clear that a deep and lasting religious fervor and enthusiasm prevailed, that the life, especially of Asia Minor, during the first centuries of our era was intense and above the dead level of the commonplace, new ideas striking root and growing luxuriantly, while old ones were revived with a deeper meaning, in brief, that it was an age of spiritual unrest and mystic contemplation.

In such an age and such an environment Christianity arose and received its permanent orthodox form. It supplied a positive human need in the midst of crumbling national religions. It is a marvellous synthesis of Semitic, Greek and possibly Indian thought. The best is selected from the fermenting cauldron. To be sure, primitive rites are incorporated, for they are rooted in the race soul, but they are plastic enough to receive a more spiritual content as the centuries pass. The naturalistic conception of God was revived in the mystery cults — a reversion simply to the oldest Hebrew and Greek faith. What more natural than to seek inter-union of man with God through material means? Hence, as blood, especially human, has been regarded, since time immemorial,— and still is by many savage peoples — as the very essence of all life, and since drinking it was believed the surest

means of sharing the deity's life, in other words to become identified with him, it is not surprising that Christianity should retain and re-emphasize this ancient doctrine. That Jesus when once defied should be regarded as the Lamb of God that takes away, once for all, the sins of the world was inevitable. When his divine blood had been shed for the remission of sins, it was simply an imperative necessity owing to the intellectual and spiritual immaturity of the race, that his followers should find, in an already existing mystical rite, direct communion with their Lord and Redeemer. Baptism for the regeneration of the soul, though a universal pagan rite, was regarded as a matter of course, as an idea perfectly familiar, when John the Baptist appeared. Ablutions for the washing away of moral impurities were indigenous to the Jewish ritual. But the primitive Semitic conception of water as a divine element, and even a divinity, had in the course of time disappeared from the official Hebrew religion. Here, then, we have a positive proof that a pagan idea, *i. e.*, of regeneration by water, had been grafted on a Hebrew rite. It is an idea connected with baptism among the ancient Egyptians, Persians, Mexicans, Peruvians and other peoples. Heraclitus who makes sublimated ethereal fire the source of all things, regards water as one of its lower and crasser forms, and the soul as an ἀναθυμίασις exhalation arising from the latter. Clemens of Alexandria says: "Water is born of the earth and the soul of water."

Now, since the voluntary mystery cults, in whose midst Christianity was born and reached maturity, practiced the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, it would be passing strange if the latter had not incorporated these time-honored rites. Mithraism was unquestionably the most important; its growth, influence and propagation so phenomenal that for some time, according to some historians, it was actually a question whether Christianity or Mithraism would become the religion of the Roman Empire. Mithraism was a later development of the ancient Mazdayasnian religion and had already been established as the official cult in Persia before the time of Alexander. According to Plutarch, the Romans were initiated into the mysteries of Mithra by the Cilician pirates conquered by Pompey (67-66 B. C.). The same author tells us that this Mazdean sect "enjoyed a certain notoriety in the Occident in his time (46-125 A. D.). Ovid refers to the identification of the Persian sun God Mithra and Hyperion, *i. e.*, Appolo, in his Fasti I, 335, thus, "Placat eqno Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum."

Its most lively propagation seems to have taken place during the rule of Trajan (97-117 A. D.). It was the favorite religion of the Roman soldiers and was disseminated by them throughout the countries of Asia Minor, Northern Africa, Italy, Gaul, Germany and Great Britain. Mithra the Invincible God of the Sun resembled Christ in many particulars. He was not Ahura Mazda, the supreme God himself, but an Amshapand or Archangel, whom Ahura Mazda had given equal dignity with himself. Furthermore, according to the thought of the times, he was the Logos who emanated from the supreme God and shared his omnipotence. As such he created the world by slaying the redoubtable primordial bull, a mythological symbol of cosmic life, for only through death is life made possible. The same mythological conception is found in the Indian *Purusha*, the Old Norse *ymir*, the Persian Gâyômard, and the Gnostic first man, out of all of whom the world is represented as created. The *Purusha* is slain by the supreme God. His life is sacrificed that a world may come into existence. Is not the same mythic idea simply applied to a spiritual creation reflected in the expression, "The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world"? (Rev. 13: 8.) In later philosophical language the same thought would be expressed by saying, that God could only through self-diremption create the world. Mithra was furthermore the giver of both spiritual and temporal blessings, "the lord of the wide pastures," and the bestower of the drink of immortality. He was also mediator and savior who fought for the victory of righteousness in the world. Through his constant care for his votaries and his final triumph over Ahriman and all the powers of darkness he saves them from sin and an eternal hell. At the last judgment it is he who is the judge, separating the good from the evil, and "in a supreme sacrifice he will immolate the divine bull; will mingle its fat with the consecrated wine, and will offer to the just this miraculous beverage which will endow them all with immortality." This final scene in the Mithraic heaven reflects the same eschatological idea as the words attributed to Jesus immediately after the institution of the Last Supper. "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day *when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.*" (Matthew 26: 29.) Expressed in various forms the idea is coextensive, in space and time, with the human race. Another very remarkable parallel between Mithra and Christ is that the former, after he had finished his painful and arduous labors on earth

and just before his ascension to heaven is said to have instituted a Last Supper which his followers continued to commemorate by mystical love feasts. It is this sacrament, centuries older than Christianity and the historical successor of the Haoma rite, which doubtless more than any other contributed to the incorporation of the eucharist and love feasts into Christianity. The resemblance of the Mithraic sacrament to that subsequently developed, and finally established, by the Catholic church, is too striking to be mere coincidence when we consider the local contiguity and long-continued rivalry of the two cults.

Like other mysteries of Greece, Italy, Egypt and Asia Minor Mithraism practiced a baptism of regeneration before admitting the neophyte to the solemnly celebrated eucharist. The sincerity of the candidate's faith was also tested by means of twelve consecutive trials called the Tortures, lasting forty days, a term that may be the origin of the Lenten season of self-inflicted punishment in the Catholic church. He who desired to become a soldier of Mithra was also required to refuse a crown offered him and to say, "my crown is Mithra." As this took place on a festive and public occasion the refusal gave evidence of a firm and unflinching faith. The crown became a favorite Christian symbol, beginning with Paul.

The Mithraic sacrament consisted of two elements bread and wine. At first, however, water was used as a substitute for the more ancient Haoma juice. Later a mixture of water and wine was introduced, and finally unmixed wine. Here we observe exactly the same process of change as in the Christian rite. Prof. A. Harnack, in his essay, Brot und Wasser, die Elemente bei Justin, 1891, although there is diversity of opinion among scholars regarding his conclusions, has certainly made it perfectly clear that the eucharistic elements were by no means definitely fixed in the early Christian churches. Water instead of wine was used by many Christian churches as late as the fifth century. The Ebiontes and other ascetic Christian sects used water, just as the Mormons in our day.

When the neophytes had valiantly endured a certain number of the trials and, as some think, had reached the degree of Lions, they were permitted to partake of the sacrament. On an altar, or rather table, a cup filled with water or wine, and loaves or cakes of circular shape were placed before the communicants. When the officiating priest had pronounced a sacred formula over the emblems, he distributed them among

the participants. A bas-relief in stone representing a Mithraic communion service was discovered a few years ago in Konjica, Bosnia. Before the two seated communicants stands a tripod with four small cakes each marked with a cross. The initiates are grouped about the two, and one, evidently the Persian, presents to them a drinking horn. A second vessel is held by one of the participants. This, doubtless, represents a love feast commemorating Mithra's banquet celebrated before his ascension. The bread was called *Mizd*, a derivative of the older *Myazda*, used in the Haoma sacrament. Its circular form symbolized the sun, says Alphonsus de Spira, in his *Fortalitium Fidei*, and it was offered in sacrifice at the celebration of the mass to the genius of the great luminary. The Persian *Myazda* consisted of the round wafer covered with a piece of meat. It conferred immortality on the votary and his god. Seel derives the Latin term *Missa* from the Mithraic *Mizd* designating the bloodless sacrifice of the Mass, assuming that this *Mizd* was the prototype of the Catholic *Hostia*, which is precisely of the same shape and size. Other scholars derive *Missa* from the formula "Ite missa est," being the set or sterotyped phrase with which the priest dismisses those of the congregation who do not intend to commune. This explanation, however, is improbable, for in cases of this sort the object sacrificed gives its name to the rite rather than a phrase from the rite itself. Now this object has always been called *hostia*, victim. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the *Myazda* or *Mizd* was originally regarded as a sacrifice exactly as the Host is in the Catholic church to-day. Whence this idea of the actual re-enactment, in the eucharist, of Christ's sacrifice on Calvary? Catholic theologians must admit that there is not the slightest trace of such a doctrine in the New Testament. Jesus as high priest "entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us," Heb. 9 : 12. He entered in once "by his own blood," not every time the mass is celebrated in a Catholic church. It is a pagan conception *pur sang* like so many other rites and dogmas of historical Christianity. The change in form of the eucharist from the days of St. Paul to Justin Martyr would also suggest Mithraic or some similar extraneous influence. In Paul's time the love feasts, *agapae*, were real meals, at which irregularities and disorderly shameful conduct occurred, so that Paul felt it necessary severely to reprove his Corinthian brethren. In the days of Justin Martyr the Eucharist has changed from a common meal to a purely

sacramental act, a mystic and solemn partaking of the sacred elements in conformity with the Mithraic sacrament. In view of these striking similarities, one is tempted to say, identity of form and significance of the two rites, it is perfectly natural that the overzealous church fathers should regard the Mithraic sacrament as a pure invention of the devil in order to deceive the elect, if possible. They had no idea of the genetic solidarity of the race, nor of a gradual evolution of all things, religion included.

Justin Martyr, born 114 A. D., at Flavia Neapolis, the modern Nablous, in Palestine, and hence the oldest of the patristic authors whose writings are still extant, writes anent this subject as follows:

"The apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, said, 'This do ye in remembrance of me, this is my body;' and that after the same manner having taken the cup and given thanks, he said, 'This is my blood;' and gave it to them alone. Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn." Justin Martyr, Vol. II, pp. 64-65.

Being before his conversion well-versed in Greek literature and philosophy and seeking for some knowledge that would satisfy the cravings of his heart, Justin Martyr must have been familiar with the teachings of the mystery religions, at least in so far as they were exoteric. From the passage quoted it is clear that Mithraism was extensively known and its teachings accessible. For, addressing the Emperor Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, *i. e.*, Marcus Aurelius, his son Verissimus, the philosopher, Lucius the philosopher, and the sacred Roman senate, he says, referring to the Mithraic Eucharist, "you either know or can learn." Hence this rite at least was an open secret.

Tertullian, born about 150 A. D., a man of great originality, genius, and penetrating keenness, the church father who practically created ecclesiastical Latinity, and a Christian of terrible evangelical earnestness, who as a man and author, had much in common with St. Paul, saw also in the Mithraic rites a wicked device of the devil. Speaking of the Scripture passage that "there must be heresies," he says:

"The question will arise, By whom is to be interpreted the sense of the passages which make for heresies? By the devil of course, to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with the essential portions of the sacraments of God."

"He, too, baptizes some — that is, his own believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver [of his own]; and if my memory still serves me, Mithra there [in the kingdom of Satan] sets his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection, and before a sword wreathes a crown."

This scholarly and brilliant church father is absolutely convinced that the devil emulates "those very things of which consists the administration of Christ's sacraments." The close resemblance of the Mithraic and Christian sacrament seems therefore unquestionable. Both have as fundamental ideas a divine sacrifice, and man's incorporation of the life of the divine victim by eating its flesh and drinking its blood in a mystical sacramental collation. As the good fathers shared the belief of their age in devils and, besides, lacked the historical sense, as well as insight into the causal genesis of all things, they could but look upon all Pagan rites as the devil's mischievous counterfeits of Christian institutions. The same superstitious notion has often been expressed since their day. When early in the 16th century the Spanish priests found the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist practiced by the natives of Mexico and Peru, they likewise attributed them to the arch-enemy of the Church. We are not surprised that Acosta calls the following rite described by himself, "a devilish matter." He writes of the ancient Mexican Eucharist celebrated twice a year, in May and December: "The priests and superiors of the temple took the idol of paste (a dough image of their god Huitzilopochtli) . . . and made many pieces as well of the idol itself as of the tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gave them to the people in manner of a communion, beginning with the greater and continuing unto the rest, both men and women and little children, who received it with such tears, fear, and reverence, as it was an admirable thing, saying that they did eat the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sick folks demanded thereof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration." Father Grueber who travelled in Thibet in the 16th century

says: "This only do I affirm that the devil so mimics the Catholic Church there, that although no European or Christian has ever been there, still in all essential things they agree so completely with the Roman Church as even to celebrate the sacrifice of the Host with bread and wine; with my own eyes have I seen it." Justin Martyr and Tertullian were not aware that Mithraism was many centuries older than Christianity and had taught and practiced these rites since its very inception. It had simply adopted them from the parent cult, the ancient Mazdean religion. A borrowing or mimicking on the part of Mithraism is therefore out of the question unless the devil delights in mimicking by anticipation. Father Grueber and Acosta were ignorant of the scientific fact that similar rites and institutions can develop independently, without any historical connection.

Summing up, then, what has been said on the Mithraic sacrament, it may be said that the Christian rite as it exists in the Catholic Church seems to owe much of its elaborate form and its central idea as a sacrifice to its older rival the Mithraic sacrament. This conclusion is inevitable for various reasons. The extraordinary religious syncretism and fusion of rites, during the first three centuries of our era, is a well established historical fact. Although Macrobius brings forward much that is fanciful and exaggerated in his attempt "*Omnes deos referri ad Solem*," his main contention contains an important truth. All divine saviors and dispensers of immortal life are more or less of a solar character. In this fact is found the primary reason for their similarities and hence the kinship of their cults. No wonder, therefore, that the ritual worships of Apollo, Mithra, Serapis, Isis, Christ, etc., should mutually influence each other when brought into close contact under the Roman Empire. Such an influence amounting, strange to say, to an actual identification is referred to by the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A. D.) in a letter to his brother-in-law Servianus and preserved by the historian Vopiscus in his life of the Tyrant Saturninus. Hadrian writes: "Those who worship Serapis are likewise Christians; even those who style themselves the bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis. The very Patriarch himself (the Patriarch of Tiberias, head of the Jewish religion after the destruction of Jerusalem under Hadrian) when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to adore Serapis, by others to worship Christ. There is but one God for them all, Him do the Christians, Him do the Jews, Him do the Gen-

tiles, all alike worship.'' This statement has great weight because Hadrian was a distinguished scholar of versatile mind and speculative curiosity, who spent many years in travels throughout the provinces of his vast empire. Hence he had the very best opportunity for knowing the things whereof he speaks. Emperor Alexander Severus (205-235 A. D.) a man of beautiful character and excellent education paid his devotions to Christ and Abraham and spent large sums of money in embellishing the temples of Serapis and Isis ''with statues, couches, and all things pertaining to their Mysteries.'' In the ancient Egyptian goddess of fecundity, Isis, we encounter a remarkable similarity to the Virgin Mary, and, since Egypt in the early days was a very active theological factory, this extraordinary resemblance between the two Mothers of God can hardly be accidental. Says J. G. Frazer: ''Indeed her (Isis) stately ritual, with its shaven and tonsured priests, its matins and vespers, its tinkling music, its baptism and aspersions of holy water, its solemn processions, its jewelled images of the Mother of God, presented many points of similarity to the pomps and ceremonies of Catholicism.'' Statues of Isis suckling the infant Horus have often been adored by ignorant Catholics. Isis being identified with the bright star Sirius ''which on July mornings rises from the glassy waves of the eastern Mediterranean, a harbinger of halcyon weather to mariners,'' received the beautiful epithet *Stella Maris*, the Star of the Sea. One of the most beautiful Catholic hymns in praise of the Virgin Mary bears this very title and in Catholic books of devotion the Virgin is addressed as the Morning Star.

The early syncretistic process is unmistakable. In a time of such religious welter and fermentation, as well as general decline of national life, such a phenomenon is perfectly natural. It is certain that during the second and third centuries A. D. no god was more extensively worshipped throughout the Roman Empire than Mithra, as is proven by the scholarly and exhaustive work of Franz Cumont. As already stated the Romans were probably initiated for the first time, into the Mithraic mysteries by the Cilician pirates conquered by Pompey in 66-67 B. C. In the time of Domitian (52-96 A. D.) it was favored at Rome and became regularly established there by Trajan about 100 A. D. According to Lampridius, the emperor Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius (180-192) thought it important enough to be initiated into its mysteries. Constantine the Great both before and after his

conversion to Christianity was much devoted to the Invincible Sun *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae* as shown by his adopting, as sole currency of the Western provinces, coins with the figure of Sol himself, with the devise "To the Invincible Sun, my Guardian." This legend being capable of a double interpretation, meaning both Apollo-Mithra, and the Sun of Righteousness, *i. e.*, Christ, it was unobjectionable to Pagan and Christian alike of the mixed population among whom it circulated. Nor did the emperor himself feel any scruples about this ambiguity, for, though nominally a Christian, he went so far as to erect, as the most magnificent monument of his new capital, Constantinople, a colossal statue of Apollo with Christian and pagan symbols and mounted on a lofty pillar which remained until destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

There are many other facts proving the same assimilative process during the early history of Christianity. Owing to the fact that *dies solis*, Sunday, was a day sacred to the sun god, it became the legal and universally observed Christian sabbath. For more than four centuries Christians observed both Saturday and Sunday. The Ebionites, the earliest Christian sect, kept both days. The church historian Socrates, b. about 385 A. D., tells us that the churches of his day did so. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* we read: "Let the slaves work five days, but on the Sabbath day and the Lord's day let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety." In 321 A. D. Constantine decreed that *venerabilis dies Solis*, Sunday, should be a day of rest. It is true that Sunday, or the first day of the week, was called the Lord's day and tradition made Jesus rise from the dead on that day. But we must not forget that this was not a fixed and universal belief, for the gospel traditions differ. One record says that he would rise on the third day, another *after* three days. Jesus is expressly made to prophesy about himself that he must remain three days and three nights in the earth and according to this statement he rose on Monday. It should also be remembered that Mithra was known by the epithet Lord and the day sacred to him, as the Lord's day. The fact that the first day of the week, or the Lord's day, is spoken of in the New Testament as the day for religious gatherings and the breaking of bread in such a matter-of-fact way, as if it were something long familiar among the Gentile Christians, clearly indicates non-Jewish influence. There is no room for doubt, the same assimilative tendency did its work as in

the case of Christmas, Easter and All Soul's Day. The Christian church simply adopted Pagan festivals for its own purposes. We know positively that this is true of Christmas. The old festival held on the 25th day of December in honor of the "Birthday of the invincible Sun" was adopted as the Birthday of Christ, which latter was absolutely unknown. Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (347-407), says (Hom. xxxi) that the Birthday of Christ had then lately been fixed at Rome on that day, in order that, whilst the heathen were busied with their own profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites unmolested. These facts and many others that could be adduced prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the indebtedness of Christinity to Paganism, in this case to the Invincible Sun God Mithra, who so strikingly resembled Christ that his own priests declared him to be a Christian. Says Augustine : "I remember that the priests of the fellow in the cap (Mithra) used at one time to say, 'Our Capped One is himself a Christian.' " It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that the Christian Eucharist acquired under the influence of this cult its present Catholic form and meaning. The primitive and very simple rite that Paul, as will be shown later, evidently first introduced into the Gentile churches, was gradually given an elaborate and imposing form, and invested with those mystic, supernatural virtues which in later times became articles of faith. The history of the Church is full of such accretions. The history of dogma is a record of growth and endless variation. If the heathen philosophy of the Greeks could be Christianized, why not Pagan rites, which were in perfect accord with the fundamental conception of Christianity, viz., vicarious sacrifice by a God whose flesh is the heavenly manna, the living bread, that imparts eternal life to the votary? In the East, the home of mysteries, it became an imperative necessity for the Church, at least to equal, if not outbid, the attractions of long established and cognate cults. No one, who has given the subject sufficient thought, doubts for a moment that dogmas like the trinity, the two natures of Christ, the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son are due to pale Oriental abstractions and useless hair-splittings, nor that the doctrine of the actual and material presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharistic elements could possibly have originated in any other time or country than it did. Nay, more, the dogma of God-eating would be totally foreign to the Christian religion if the primitive and

savage belief in sympathetic magic had not been transmitted from age to age and finally revived and disseminated in the form of mystic and sacramental communion about 600 B. C. It is this crude notion, spiritualized, to be sure, that still keeps the rite alive. In origin and import, as is evident from preceding chapters, it is strictly pantheistic. It is therefore passing strange that Christian thinkers have failed to recognize its utter incompatibility with a theistic world-conception. Totemic tribal gods, as well as higher nature gods like Dionysos, Huitzlipochtli and others, were eaten sacramentally because they were identified with nature and not conceived as personalities distinct, and apart, from the material universe. Theism implies the latter and hence there can be no such thing as assimilation of the divine substance. God is, according to this view, as much a self-identical being as the human soul. No fusion, confusion or lapsing of one into the other is possible. It is unphilosophical to speak of the Eucharist even as "spiritual nourishment," as the transmission of Christ's glorified manhood to the communicant, as Bishop Gore insists, for the very simple reason that the spiritual is not a *compositum* that may be divided and thus lose personal identity. Character cannot be transferred from one person to another. According to pantheism man is but a mode or evanescent form of God the infinite substance, and as such is finally merged in and identified with him. Theism, on the other hand, ascribes to man metaphysical substance equally with God, for no mere mode or form, destitute of an immutable and perduring essence, can be immortal. If theism is true and man immortal, it is only as a knower that growth and change can be predicated of him, *sub* specie æternitatis or as noumenon, he is immutable. There is no need, then, of postulating an addition or influx of divine substance into the human soul as is done in the Eucharist. That this has been done in all ages, from the most primitive to our own, is simply due to the naturalistic and pantheistic conceptions that have prevailed and through modern science have experienced a new recrudescence. A thorough epistemological orientation, however, will convince every unbiassed mind that neither physico-cosmological or evolutionary conceptions are ultimate principles, nor chemico-mathematical formulæ the definitive solution of existence.

Turning now to Gnosticism we notice that it, too, is a most remarkable syncretism, being the product of a mingling and fermentation

of Babylonian, Persian, Jewish, Greek, Christian and possibly Buddhistic ideas. Though consisting of many sects such as the Essenes, Marcosians, Mandæans, Manichæans Ophites, etc., it possessed certain general characteristics. With some variations they all taught that the world arose by emanations. The teaching of the Alexandrine mystic Basilides, as given by Tertullian, will show the Gnostic belief on this point: "He (Basilides) asserted that there was a Supreme God named Abraxas, by whom was created Mind whom the Greeks call Nous. From Mind proceeded the Word, from the Word, Providence; from Providence, Virtue and Wisdom; from these two again, Virtues, Principalities and Powers were made; from these infinite productions and emissions of angels. By these Angels the 365 heavens were created. Amongst the lowest Angels, indeed, and those who made this world, he sets last of all the God of the Jews whom he denies to be God, affirming that he is one of the Angels." Their eschatology was essentially that of the much older Mazdean faith which they shared in common with Christians. They sought salvation from temporal existence and union with God by means of sacraments (usually seven) and other secret, often uncanny ceremonies. Among these was also the Eucharist. The Gnostic Marcus is known to have practiced it. Scholars are somewhat at variance regarding the nature of Gnosticism and its significance for the history of religion. Prof. Adolf Harnack, for instance, sees in it an acute Hellenisation of Christianity, while Gruppe and Bousset are inclined to regard it as a movement embodying a system of superannuated ideas and incapable of comprehending Christianity. With all its vagaries and monstrous cosmogony, however, it met a specific need of the times. In an age of scepticism and national disintegration, it inspired hope and faith in divine powers and a life beyond. For centuries it was thus a living force. Together with Mithraism and various other ancient mysteries it furnished the spiritual atmosphere of the lands where Christianity was first planted and received its definitive orthodox form. It is therefore perfectly natural that it should leave distinct traces in the New Testament and in the history of the church almost down to the present time. In Paul's writings Gnostic ideas are clear and unmistakable as will appear in what will be said concerning the great Apostle to the Gentiles and his connection with the Eucharist.

During the last fifteen or twenty years the origin of the Christian

Eucharist has been discussed with a great deal of interest. A number of scholars, *e. g.*: Profs. Spitta, A. Eichhorn, N. Schmidt and the Englishman Percy Gardner have come to the astonishing conclusion that Jesus did not institute the Lord's Supper. P. Gardner holds that the Apostle Paul is the real originator. In his book, The Origin of the Lord's Supper, London, 1893, he advances the theory that Paul had gotten his idea from the Eleusinian mysteries which he may have studied during his stay at Athens or Corinth. In his *Exploratio Evangelica*, 1899, he gave up this view as untenable. He says: "It would require very strong evidence to make us believe that Paul, with all his catholicity, would accept a hint derived from such a source." Nevertheless he maintains that Paul is the institutor of this rite "on the higher mystic level," and he continues: "It seems reasonable to incline to see in the Christian sacrament as accepted by the Church an early Christian custom of the common meal mixed with an infusion of sacrificial mysticism, probably due to Paul." And he adds: "Direct imitation of any heathen rite by a Christian teacher is improbable; far more probable is the working of an idea in parallel lines on pagan societies and on Christianity." Still, if the altar to an unknown god at Athens could suggest to Paul that the Athenians in reality, though ignorantly, worshipped his God, why might he not see a worship, though ignorantly, of the dead and risen Christ, in the sacrament at Eleusis and other sanctuaries? We know now that the altar at Athens was erected, according to a Greek custom, to any one of the many gods whose name was unknown or forgotten, but Paul's vivid imagination read into it a very different meaning. The same thing is both possible and probable with reference to the Eucharist. If Paul once saw this deeper hidden meaning in the Pagan ceremony he would naturally proclaim it as "a hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory," as in the case of the mythic notion that the archons of darkness unwittingly put the Lord of glory to death. There was a growing conviction among the mystæ that they communed with one and the same god at all the shrines, and men like Plato, Philo, Porphyry and Plotimus saw the highest truths adumbrated in the ethnic myths generally and in the cult myths in particular. Why not Paul? His mystic and ecstatic diathesis favors such a view. Having once conceived this deeper meaning, it needed only to be corroborated by a dream or vision to make it a divine mystery hidden

from the foundation of the world. Mr. Gardner's first idea may not, after all, be a mere "*Curiosum*" as Mr. Anrich thinks. Paul's way of thinking must not be judged by our own. A thorough insight into the psychology of Paul and his age will show that no consciousness of inconsistency, nor any such cautions and scruples existed in the apostle's mind, as many Bible scholars seem to assume. Paul was a true child of his age and, like his contemporaries, a curious mixture of mysticism, superstition and clear, rational thought. He lived in a very credulous, uncritical and a prescientific age, and as his mind was necessarily cast in the mould of that age, it absorbed unconsciously many of the prevalent ideas. Asia Minor was a veritable hotbed of Gnostic, Mithraic and other mystic societies with temples, or shrines and elaborate cryptic rituals. Tarsus, Paul's native city, the capital of Cilicia, was famous not only for its commerce, but its school of philosophy, which sent out teachers as far as Rome. Athenodorus, the Stoic, and Nestor, the Academic, were both magistrates of Tarsus, professors at the university, and teachers respectively of Augustus and Marcellus. Moreover, despite the pleasure-seeking disposition of the inhabitants it was a great religious centre. The following Pagan deities are known to have been worshipped there, Heracles, Perseus, Apollo, Athena, Mithra and Sandan. The latter is the most interesting and doubtless the one most extensively worshipped throughout Cilicia. He is identified with Baal of Tarsus, a Semitic god of fertility and vegetation, and corresponds exactly to the well-known Asiatic nature deities, Adonis, Attis and Osiris. He is spoken of as the mythical founder of Tarsus, and according to Dio Chrysostom, the inhabitants worshipped him at a periodical festival by erecting a fine pyre in his honor on which he was either burned in effigy or in the person of a human representative. The reason for this is supposed to have been the primitive belief that the god was thus purified of all earthly and perishable dross. He was thereby renewed and reinvigorated for his chief function as god of fertility and procreation. "Coins of Tarsus," says Frazer, "often exhibit the pyre as a conical structure resting on a garlanded altar or basis, with the figure of Sandan himself in the midst of it, while an eagle with spread wings perches on the top of the pyre, as if about to bear the soul of the burning god in the pillar of smoke and fire to heaven." This ceremony was probably followed by a mimic resurrection, as in the case of his counterparts Melcarth and Adonis, "to

indicate that the divine life was not extinct, but had only assumed a fresher and purer form." Sandan, also identified with Hercules, and regarded as the son of a father god, was worshipped in conjunction with an unmarried goddess just as Adonis in Syria.

Through F. Cumont's extensive and thorough researches we now know that Mithra was also worshipped at the city of Tarsus, for monuments of undoubted Mithraic origin have been discovered there. If in addition to these facts we bear in mind that such questions as the nature of the soul, life after death, resurrection, the end of the world, the coming of a saviour, expected by Gentiles, especially the Persians, and Jews alike, were eagerly discussed everywhere, then we can more readily understand why these very things play such an important part in Paul's epistles. How could he avoid imbibing these ideas? "You might as well educate a German boy in America," says Dr. Paul Carus, "and expect him to remain ignorant of the American spirit and the notions of progress and liberty with which the atmosphere of the United States is saturated."

A few words will now be apposite to show the mystic bent of Paul's mind and the ease with which he accepts Pagan and superstitious notions. In fact these ideas are an essential part of his mental make-up. Being a man of a very emotional and religious nature, he quite naturally regards the deepest convictions and thoughts, that well up out of the depths of his subliminal self, as divine communications. He was firmly convinced that God had separated him from his mother's womb to reveal Christ in him. As soon as converted through the vision on the road to Damascus he immediately "conferred not with flesh and blood." "Neither went I up to Jerusalem," he says, "to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus." His absolute faith in visions and divine revelations is also proven by his own astonishing assertion in Gal. 1:11, 12: "But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Such implicit faith in intercommunication between gods and men was universal and perfectly natural in Paul's day. Gnostics and mystics of all sorts fairly reveled in divine revelations. Books containing such revelations are very numerous, most have perished, but enough are extant to give us a fair idea of that sort of gnosis. Pistis-Sophia, the "most remarka-

ble fruit of a crazy, mystic imagination," the Book of Enoch, quoted by the apostle Jude, the Book of Baruch by the Gnostic Justinus are good examples. Paul shared many of the Gnostic ideas. Besides direct revelations he believed in ecstasies. In 2 Cor. 12: 2-4, he tells us in all seriousness that he was "caught up to the third heaven" . . . . into paradise and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." This idea of series of heavens and spiritual worlds is purely Pagan, and quite common in the Gnostic systems and various other mythologies. Origen in his treatise, *Contra Celsum* VI, 22, hints that the secret art of ecstasy, whereby a person, while still alive, could ascend into the highest heaven, was known and practiced by the Mithraic mystics. Bousset has also shown that this same art was known to the Jewish Rabbis of the first century of our era. The Gnostics considered it a sacrament. Hippolytus quotes an interesting passage from the Gnostic Book of Baruch of Justinus. After giving the oath taken by the initiate he continues: "And when he has sworn this oath, he goes on to the Good One and beholds 'whatever things eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man,' and he drinks from living water, which is to them, as they suppose, a bath, a fountain of living, bubbling water." In 1 Cor. 2: 9 Paul evidently refers to his experience during such an ecstatic ascension into heaven: "But as it is written, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." This is a very free and careless quotation from Isaiah 64: 4, which does not necessarily refer to another life. But these are the unspeakable things which it is not lawful to utter. The statement certainly points to a trance-experience, for ecstatic saints are often unable to express in words what they have seen and heard. But why was it not lawful to utter these things? Hippolytus gives us the clue. He says that the Gnostic *mystæ*, before they were initiated into the secret art of ascending into heaven, were obliged to take a solemn oath not to divulge their experiences. The oath was worded as follows: "I swear by that Good One who is above all, to guard these mysteries, and to divulge them to no one, and not to relapse from the Good One to the creature." Paul is here a true mystic and keeps his oath of secrecy as rigidly as Euripides, Pindar, Pausanias or any of the Greeks to whom reference has already been made in another chapter. It is undeniable that Paul

firmly believed in visions and ecstatic experiences: "The claim to a continual personal revelation," says Percy Gardner, "lies on the surface of all St. Paul's Epistles." And he adds: "It was a fixed principle of St. Paul to hold far more strongly to that which he received direct from the Lord than that which he received from tradition." It is equally true that often he does not distinguish between history, myth and vision.

Now these visions of Paul, the Gnostics, Mithraists, etc., belong to the same category as those of St. Theresa, Maria degli Angeli, Jacopo della Massa and numerous other saints and sinners. Jálálu'd-Din Rúmi, the Persian mystic (1207-1273) is also reported to have seen visions, to have ascended into the celestial regions and to have written under inspiration. These phenomena are not limited to any particular religion. Modern science, especially abnormal psychology, has made it perfectly clear that they are due to pathological disturbances and that persons subject to them are more or less neurasthenics. So far there is no valid evidence that they reveal a suprasensuous reality. The Oriental has believed, since time out of mind, that the deity often spoke to man in dreams and visions of the night, a perfectly natural attitude of an uncritical mind, destitute of all scientific training. Says Elihu the Buzite: "For God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed. Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction" (Job. 33: 14-16). Paul believed this firmly, and he has many followers to-day. But all who, like the Psychic Researchers and Spiritualists, try to persuade modern men of science that "God gives wisdom to his beloved in sleep," should remember Hegel's sarcastic remark, that what we get in sleep is only empty dreams. Facts do not bear it out that Paul's visions formed an exception. His pretended word of the Lord that came to him in visions on closer scrutiny turns out to be merely his own deepest conviction or most cherished belief. One incontrovertible fact will suffice to prove this assertion.

In St. Paul's day the belief in the near end of the world was widespread. Even Jesus is made to prophesy that this cosmic catastrophe was to take place in the then living generation. In Matthew 24: 34-35 we read: "Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled, Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words

shall not pass away." Although this prophecy was uttered in this solemn fashion by God in the flesh, according to orthodox Christians, its non-fulfillment is an undeniable fact of history, many generations of men have lived and died since Jesus is purported to have pronounced it. Paul was just as sure that Jesus would return in his day and generation and preached this doctrine. In 1 Cor. 15 : 51-52 he writes: "Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." When, now, some of the Thessalonians, to whom he had preached this belief died, their friends became sad and doubtful. To comfort them Paul wrote as follows: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words." (Thes. 4: 15-18.) The non-fulfillment of this "word of the Lord" is as indisputable as that of Jesus already quoted. The candid and unbiased thinker is forced to admit the unreliableness of Paul's revelations and the crudeness of his eschatology. Paul, like all his contemporaries, made no distinction between subjective and objective truth. A deep religious conviction or fixed idea, whether induced by a vision or dream, or by ordinary normal experience and reflection, was to him the voice of the Lord Jesus. Therefore when he asserts that he has received the institution of the Last Supper from the Lord, we can scarcely err in assuming that this revelation comes from the same source, viz., his subconscious self. From early childhood he must have been familiar with the doctrine of the resurrection as symbolized in the mimic death and resurrection of Sandan in his native city of Tarsus as well as of Attis and Adonis. A sacramental meal, the eating of the god's flesh and drinking his blood, was a rite in most of these mystery and nature cults with which Paul must have been conversant. Although this primitive conception was not a part of the official Hebrew religion in which Paul was reared, we have positive proof that it was a popular belief among the Jews held in common with the Babylonians and other Semitic peoples.

Ezekiel, who prophesied from 595 B. C., mentions women who sat weeping for Tammuz (Adonis) at the gate of the Lord's house. St. Jerome, the Latin church father (340-420), best known through his translation of the whole Bible, the Vulgate or authorized Latin version, and who lived many years in a monastery at Bethlehem in Palestine, tells us that there was a grove there of the ancient Syrian lord, Adonis, and that where once the infant Jesus had wept the love of Venus was bewailed. Since Adonis was the god of vegetation or the corn-spirit, the name of this, his dwelling-place, Bethlehem, the house of bread, was most appropriate. According to Movers the dogma of a dead and risen god was a fundamental one of the Jewish theocracy as early as the days of king Ahab (919-897 B. C.). This god was Tammuz or Adonis. In the chapter on Sacramentelism Among the Semites it was pointed out that the name David, or rather Dod, indicated such a cult among the Israelites. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Adonis was worshipped at Bethlehem, in his House of Bread, many centuries before the birth of him who is reported to have said: "I am the bread of life." (John 6: 35.) In fact, we have good reasons for believing that these words, attributed to Jesus, merely reflect the Semitic conception of a much older deity, Adonis. For John's gospel was undoubtedly written by a man saturated with the best in the Alexandrian philosophy and the religio-racial ideas of his day.

When Julian the Apostate (331-363 A. D.) first entered the city of Antioch, he found the gay and magnificent Eastern Capital plunged in mimic mourning for the annual death of Adonis. It may be that the morning star, the Dilbat, or "Announcer" of the ancient Accadians, identified with Venus or Istar, the "Lady of Rising," the consort of Tammuz or Adonis, rose above the eastern horizon at the time of the emperor's entry. This was doubtless the reason why he was received by the superstitious people with public prayers as if he had been a god, *i. e.*, Adonis. Ammianus Marcellinus, an impartial and candid Roman historian and a native of Antioch, who attended the emperor Julian in his expedition into Persia, describes the incident as follows: "Approaching the city he (the emperor) is received with public prayers as if he were some deity, and he marvels at the voices of the great multitude crying that the Star of Salvation had dawned upon them in the East!" This is certainly very significant when we bear in mind that Antioch was one of the earliest seats of the worship of the new God, the deified Jesus,

and that here his votaries were first called Christians. (Acts 11 : 26.) His star, too, was seen in the East, very likely the very same one, he also was styled the bread of life and the resurrection and the life.

While the worshippers mourned for the dead god, they fasted from bread. There may have been two main reasons for this practice. An Arabic writer of the 10th century tells us that the Syrian women during the Adonis festival eat nothing which has been ground in a mill, but limit their diet to steeped wheat, sweet vetches, dates, raisins and the like, because his lord slew him cruelly, ground his bones in a mill and then scattered them to the wind. The fasting may also have been a preparation for a sacramental meal just as in other mystery cults and in the Catholic Church. Firmicus Maternus says in his work De errore profanaurum religionum written *circa* 347 A. D.: "In a certain night an effigy is placed on a couch in a reclining position and bewailed with rhythmically distributed lamentations; thereupon when they have sated themselves with the mimic lamentation, a light is brought in; then the lips of all who were weeping are anointed by the priest, and when they are anointed he whispers softly, "Be of good courage, ye *mystae* of the god who has been saved, for unto you there will be salvation from pains." The author then makes this characteristic Christian comment: "*Habet ergo diabolus christos suos.*" By diabolus he means, of course, Paganism. "The resurrection of the god," says Frazer, "was hailed by his disciples as a promise that they, too, would issue triumphant from the corruption of the grave." This resurrection took place near the vernal equinox or on the 25th of March. The synchronism of the Christian Easter is noteworthy and not a mere coincidence. In Christmas and All Souls' Day, as previously noted, we have a similar adoption of Pagan festivals for Christian purposes.

The facts just cited show that in the naïve and unsophisticated race consciousness of the Semitic peoples the notion of a god who died and rose annually from the grave, had maintained itself since prehistoric times. It has also been pointed out that a baptism and eucharist were practiced as a part of these cults for the purpose of sharing in that divine life which repeatedly triumphed over death. Now, since Paul was born and brought up in an atmosphere saturated with such religious ideas, and since he was very emotional, fervent, uncritical, subject to visions and ecstatic experiences so that modern science would class him as a neurasthenic, it is not at all strange that the idea of an expected Jewish

Messiah and saviour and this universally diffused notion of a god of immortality, both of which were part of his early religious experience, should become fused into a living and strong personality, a god and savior from sin and death. Fusions and syncretisms of that sort were not uncommon in that prescientific and credulous age. The evolution of Dionysos from a mere vegetation spirit to a protagonistic cosmic deity in the Greek pantheon, being finally identified with Iao the highest of all gods, by the ancient oracle of Apollo Clarios illustrates this tendency. But in Apollonius of Tyana, born shortly before the Christian era, and after his death worshipped as a god for four hundred years, we have a most striking evidence of man's proneness to see in men of great wisdom and extraordinary powers a god incarnate. Philosophy was bankrupt, science did not yet exist, and the very best minds of the age depended on the supernatural. The subconscious and uncontrollable functional causes have more to do in determining conscious thought than hitherto supposed. It can no longer be doubted that Jewish and Pagan ideas were fused in Paul's subconscious self, and that when rising above the threshold of his normal consciousness, in a vision for example, the result of such fusion was accepted as a direct revelation from another world. Psychiatry, psychology of abnormal and border-line phenomena, psychic research, spiritism, etc., furnish abundant material to establish this hypothesis. Most of these so-called psychics and mediums believe that their abnormal or supernormal experiences prove intercommunication with the spirit world. But the most level-headed and careful scientists of to-day refuse to grant this inference, and for very good reasons. It may be said without any hesitation that, if viewed in the light of modern research in the occult, there is nothing in all of Paul's supernormal experiences that proves the hypothesis of supernatural illumination.

In Paul's day as we have seen, there was a great religious ferment. People took religion in dead earnest, seeking everywhere for light and truth. Paul was a deeply religious soul, and as is often the case in that type of mind, intolerant and fanatically zealous as evidenced particularly by his merciless and furious persecution of the harmless disciples and followers of the crucified Jesus. As an apostle he retained the same intensely dogmatic spirit, and never-lagging zeal, the same sense of absolute certitude and faith in his tenets as shown by his fulminations against unbelievers. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema." (1 Cor. 16 : 22.) And again: "But though we,

or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. 1: 8-9.) No Christian minister of to-day would either dare or care to use such language, simply because modern science has tempered the *furor theologicus* once rampant. It was this relentless spirit that later in the history of the Church lighted the bale-fires and *autodafés*. It was this overweening sense of being absolutely right, and any one who differed wrong, that made Paul gnash with his teeth on Stephen, be present at, and consent to his execution. That a man of such impetuosity, religious fervor and passions should experience a sudden conversion and become as passionately devoted to his new faith as he had been to his old one, involves no miracle at all. Since Paul was present when the infuriated Jews stoned Stephen he must have listened to the martyr's speech and heard him exclaim in ecstatic rapture: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." His earnest words and solemn declaration in the face of death that Jesus actually appeared to him could not fail to impress the nervous, sensitive Paul. We may well imagine that he often recalled this pathetic scene, saw the angelic face of Stephen and heard his last words ringing in his ears. Doubts, too, certainly arose at times in his own mind as to the justice of his present course. We may also be sure that he had asked the opinion of his learned and highly respected teacher Gamaliel on this matter. We know his attitude, for he had warned his co-religionists saying: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." (Acts 5: 38, 39.) With this warning fresh in his mind as he travelled towards Damascus, he may well have thought, Suppose I am wrong, and Jesus really is what Stephen declared him to be just before he died, then I am now fighting against God. Still perhaps he saw in Stephen's face the light that was never on land nor sea, when he "looked steadfastly into heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God." Still as he travelled on, the martyr's sublime prayer at the moment of death, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," may have re-echoed in his soul. It is therefore not surprising that before reaching his destination, he, too, had a vision of Jesus. The conjecture is

perfectly legitimate that there was a causal connexion between the circumstances attending Stephen's death, his words and vision, as well as Gamaliel's solemn warning and Paul's vision. The words which Paul is recorded to have heard in his vision recall very distinctly those of Gamaliel. Paul heard a voice saying in the Hebrew tongue, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." Gamaliel had said previously, if this work be of God "ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God," The words were purely subjective, a product of Paul's neurotic and agitated mind, for in Acts 22: 9, he is reported as saying in contradiction to Acts 9: 7, that his fellow-travellers "heard not the voice of him that spake to me." Such hallucinations are very common in persons who pass through a great religious crisis. At this time voices, visions and all sorts of abnormal experiences belonged to the order of the day. It seems to have been a kind of epidemic. Psychopathic experiences, especially of a religious nature, are often contagious. The speaking with tongues in Paul's day and at the present time in our own country by the so-called Holy Ghosters and about fifty years ago in Sweden, the preaching sickness, are illustrations in point, to say nothing of modern revivals.

The amalgamation of Jewish and Pagan elements in the Pauline Jesus and gospel was naturally an unconscious process. The critical analysis and comparative study of religion so indispensable to Biblical scholarship in our day were absolutely unknown methods in New Testament times. The evolution of religion and the continuity of human culture are entirely modern conceptions. Therefore it reveals a gross misunderstanding of the Apostle to the Gentiles to conceive his mind as a sort of water-tight compartment into which non-Jewish elements could not possibly percolate. The time was now ripe for a commingling of Hebrew and Pagan theology. This process of blending and fusion had, in fact, begun 500 years earlier during the Babylonian captivity. Paul like his ancient forebears simply absorbed unconciously the ideas of his immediate environment that appealed to his temperament. John the Baptist baptized as a matter of course without arousing any opposition or even surprise on the part of the Jews, although it was a very primitive Pagan rite practiced by all the mystery cults in Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor. It happened to remind them of their ablutions and purifications, but they naturally never suspected that both had a common Pagan origin springing from the savage

notion of taboo. John practiced it because it fitted into his system of theology, being a baptism of repentance, and was also in harmony with the spirit and thought of this age of sacraments and mystic rites. We can therefore understand why Paul was able to speak as follows: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils." According to Paul, if the god that the communicants professed to eat was called Adonis, Attis or Mithra, for instance, then the sacramental rite was necessarily of the devil. In Paul's day the possession of, and implicit faith in, a deity's name was equivalent to the possession and control of the deity's personality and power. One may also infer from this passage that some of Paul's converts took part in the sacraments of the cults of which they were members before their conversion. The similarity was great. In Paul's day Jesus had already been deified as the Logos through whom "all things in heaven and upon the earth were created, and in whom all things consist." Now, since he had been sacrificed and had risen from the dead, why should not his votaries eat his flesh and drink his blood like the Orphic and Eleusinian mystæ? Such a step in the evolution of Christianity was inevitable. If such essential tenets, in the cults of the vegetation deities, Adonis and Atlis, as the virgin-birth and resurrection were actually incorporated into the new religion within forty or fifty years after Jesus' death, it was most consistent and natural that, not only baptism, but also the sacramental rite of eating the god's body and drinking his blood — most sacred, mystic ceremonies in the worship of these gods — should be appropriated by the early Christians. The four gospels show how easily, naturally and quickly the new religion assimilated the mythico-religious ideas of its immediate environment. Besides the dogmas just mentioned thus introduced, such doctrines as the immaculate conception, the deification and ascription to Jesus of all power in heaven and in earth, the translation of the Hebrew conception of the Messiah into the Platonic idea of the Logos, an abstract notion essentially Hellenic, or rather Philonic, of a cosmic intermediary between the world and the Supreme God, etc., are mythical, or metaphysico-religious conceptions of so obvious Pagan or non-Christian origin that no well-informed and unbiassed student can entertain the shadow of a doubt. Anathon Aall in his Geschichte der Logosidee in der christlichen Litteratur, has made it perfectly clear that

Paul and the authors of the Fourth Gospel, John's Epistles, the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been written under the influence of the theosophic philosophy of Alexandria, especially that of the great Jewish scholar, Philo Judæus. The number of doctrines and ideas that these writers have in common is too great to be a mere coincidence. The striking similarity and frequent identity of doctrines and mode of expression preclude individual originality and historical independence. A few examples from John and Paul will suffice to show this remarkable community of thought. In Philo and John there is the same strong tendency, or rather habit, to change historical data into abstract truths. This is visible in Paul, too. Both John and Philo teach the pre-existence and omniscience of the Logos-Jesus and ascribe to him the divine attributes of life, truth, and light, a doctrine already highly developed in the Alexandrine hermetic literature of the second century B. C. Although represented by John as receiving life from the Father, the Logos becomes in turn the source of life, for "in him was life, and the life was the light of men" and through him all things were made, or as the author of the Hebrews puts it "by whom also he made the worlds." This conception of the Logos as the source of life and existence is genuinely Philonic. Furthermore, according to John, the spirit, too, gives life; and Philo says that "the spirit is the most life-giving." This is quite natural since both authors conceive the Logos and the Spirit as divine Hypostases or intermediaries between God and the world. John regards, in true Oriental and mystic fashion, knowledge as equivalent to, or a prerequisite for, the attainment of eternal life: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." (John 17: 3.) On this head Philo says: "We cannot abandon the search for the Absolute thinking that knowledge of Him is the consummation of happiness and a blessed life. Those, who have been assigned to the order with the existing God, live a deathless life." This is equivalent to the Vedanta doctrine that to know the Purusha, the Supreme Mind, is to be immortal. In the Hermetic books the same idea is clearly expressed. "This is man's only salvation, knowledge of God." And again: "Virtue of the soul is the gnosis, knowledge; for he who has attained it is good and pious, yea, already divine. That is the glorious goal of those who have attained to Gnosis, knowledge, to become divine." The Logos

is to both writers servant, mediator and interpreter. The latter function is clearly stated in John 1 : 18, where we read in the best Greek text: "No man has ever seen God, the only begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father, he interpreted him." From the Greek verb ἐξηγέω used here, is derived the technical term ἐξηγητής employed by Plato, Rep. 4 : 427. Speaking of the institution of temples and sacrifices of the Delphic Apollo and of the service of gods, demigods and heroes in general, Plato says: "These are matters of which we are ignorant, and as founders of a city we should be unwise in trusting to any interpreter but our ancestral deity. He is the god who sits in the centre, on the navel of the earth, and interprets them to all mankind." John was, therefore, not the first who represented a god as the interpreter of the mysteries of religion. Again, that moral dualism so often spoken of under the antitheses of light and darkness, the spirit and the flesh, is also an integral part of Philo's theosophy as well as of the much older Parseeism, which is doubtless its original source. Thus examples might be multiplied from all the New Testament books to show with what ease and absolute unscrupulousness these writers appropriated the current speculative and mythico-religious ideas of their day.

Since for our present topic we are chiefly concerned with Paul, a few further specimens will be added. In a general way, it is well to observe that much in Pauls' writings bears the impress of Philos' mode of thought; for instance, the vicious habit of allegorizing and moralizing historical facts, especially in the Scriptures, and volatilizing them into abstract religious truths. A few examples of doctrinal identity will suffice to show how freely Paul made use of current ideas. Paul and Philo agree in the following doctrines. Paul calls Jesus "the firstborn of all creation" and "the heavenly Adam;" Philo gives the Logos those very epithets; Paul makes Jesus "the image of the invisible God;" Philo using the very same words applies them to the Logos. Diogenes Laertes has handed down from Antisthenes' pupil Diogenes, the famous Cynic philosopher, these words: "Good men are images of the Gods." The idea is, therefore, very old, as this philosopher lived from 412 to 323 B. C. The conception that Jesus, the son of God or the Logos is before all things, that the world was created by, and consists in him, which Paul shares with the authors of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews, are of so obvious Philonic origin that no doubt is pos-

sible. Paul holds that the saints owe their entrance into light to Jesus as the image of God, Philo that they owe it to the Logos. When Paul discusses the metaphysical rank of the Son as compared with the Father, he simply repeats Philo's view regarding the Logos in its relation to the Supreme God. Philo's doctrine that the Logos created the world and besides contained an infinite number of other logoi, *i. e.*, spirits of various ranks, suggested to Paul the notion of invisible powers who control the ideal interconnection of the universe. These spirits, whether bodiless and of a different order than men or simply excarnate human souls, were conceived by Philo as intermediaries between God and man and represented as ascending and descending between heaven and earth. This reminds us of "the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." Paul as well as the other New Testament writers firmly believed in angels, good and bad, and their functions among men. Paul says that the law "was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator," and the stake or thorn in his flesh was the work of "an angel of Satan." That disease is the work of Satan and not of God is also Philo's belief in contradiction to Isaiah who makes Yahweh say: "I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." Philo gives us the reason for departing from the simple belief of the prophet — the chasm between the infinite and the finite is too great, God cannot come in direct contact with the world. In conformity with the then universal belief, Philo taught that God had peopled all the elements, earth, air, fire, water with bodiless souls and spirits. This he believed is especially true of the air, because it gives and sustains all life. As he was well versed in Greek philosophy, it is quite probable that he derived this idea from this rich source to which he owed so many others. He doubtless knew the teachings of Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete, who flourished at Athens about 460 B. C., and taught that the air is the source of all things, that it prompts and instructs, and is an eternal imperishable substance, "but as soul is also necessarily endowed with consciousness." Other Greek thinkers held similar views. This animistic belief philosophically formulated, and thus sanctioned by celebrated thinkers, became a most fruitful theological conception which gave birth to the numerous Gnostic hierarchies of spirits and demigods, angels, powers, aeons, principalities, thrones, depths and heights, evil spirits in the heavens, etc., fantastic creations of an unbridled and crazy imagination. Although Aristobulus as early as 160 B. C. had begun to

fuse very freely Jewish theology and Greek philosophemes, it was certainly Philo Judæus, born about 25 or 20 B. C. in Alexandria, Egypt, who gave the strongest impetus to this fusing and syncretistic process. He was enthusiastically received by the early Christians, some of whom even recognized in him a fellow-believer. Most of his works still extant were, sigificantly enough, preserved by the Church Fathers. They greatly value and admire him. Origen says, referring to Philo's *Treatise On the Doctrine That Dreams Are Sent From God*, that it "deserves the thoughtful and intelligent investigation of all lovers of truth." It was inevitable that he should hold such a high place in early Christian thought owing to numerous doctrines and ideas that form the most striking parallels with New Testament teachings. A few will be enumerated here in order to re-enforce this assertion. In Philo's writings may be found the following doctrines regarding the Logos only, (1) the Logos as the intercessor to God on behalf of man, (2) as advocate, (3) as high-priest, (4) as manna, the bread that came down from heaven, (5) the living stream, (6) the divider τομεύς, the two-edged sword in Gen. 3 : 24 and Rev. 1 : 16 ; 2 : 12, (7) the cloud at the Red Sea, (8) the rock in the wilderness, (9) the ἔλεγχος, *i. e.*, the convincer of sin. In view of these parallels and many more that could be adduced, it is useless to deny, as John Watson does, the indebtedness of the New Testament writers to the great Alexandrian Jew. That they should differ on many points is to be expected. One takes for granted that the New Testament authors show some originality in the use and application of the written and unwritten material found on every hand. This community of thought is easily accounted for by the fact that Alexandria was at this time a great centre of Greco-Oriental culture and theological speculation, and last but not least, the authors in question were contemporaries and co-religionists, born and bred in the same faith.

As might be expected Paul the mystic, the visionary and the lover of the occult — he uses the term μυστήριον, the theological watchword of the age, more than twenty times — came also under the spell of this hybrid theosophy cultivated by Jewish scholars four or five centuries prior to Christianity and eventually developing into the Hellenistic or Christian Gnosticism. That Paul was familiar with and repudiated Gnosticism is evident from 1 Tim. 6 : 20. Nevertheless, unconsciously he had absorbed some of its ideas even using quite a number of its technical terms. A few examples follow which, if read in the original,

will reveal the Gnostic mould of thought. In Eph. 6:12 Paul writes "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities (ἀρχαι), against powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the evil spirits in the heavens." A pure Gnostic conception applied to Christian experience. In Col. 1:16 four different Gnostic hierarchies or divine emanations are mentioned, viz., thrones, dominions, principalities and powers. In Col. 2:15 Paul uses an interesting Gnostic conception based on the primitive and universal cosmogonic myth of a battle between the god of light and the invisible powers of darkness. We read: "And having spoiled (ἀπεκδύομαι, to strip, disarm) principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (the cross). We have here a scene in the spirit world peopled by various hierarchies, aeons, principalities, powers, thrones, divine hypostases or emanations, etc., both good and evil, so familiar to the student of the different Gnostic systems. On the cross, according to Paul, Jesus as the eternal Logos or Hypostasis of the invisible Father, fought, disarmed and subdued these invisible enemies of God and made a public show of them. The mythical notion is obvious to the student of comparative mythology, but to Paul it was a divinely revealed truth. In Eph. 2:2 Paul writes: "In which formerly ye walked according to the aeon (ἀιὼν) of this world, according to the prince (ἄρχων) of the power of the air, the spirit now working in the sons of disobedience," αἰὼν rendered in King James' translation, "course," is clearly a Gnostic term applied by Paul to the devil and used in ap position with the following term, ἄρχων, also a Gnostic term, and translated "prince." In Rom. 8:38, 39 we find the same characteristic Gnostic personification of abstract ideas even height and depth, being conceived as powers or creatures hostile to the Christian. In Cor. 4:4 Paul speaks of the "god of this world," and in Eph. 2:2 of "the prince of the power of the air. In John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11 the ἄρχων, the ruler of this world is mentioned. In the myth of the temptation the devil figures also as god, for if Jesus will only fall down and worship him he will give him "all the kingdoms of the world." It is perfectly obvious that this evil power differs essentially from the Satan of the Old Testament, for instance in Job, who was merely Yahweh's opponent or critic, never conceived as a god, nor can he be identified with the Persian Ahriman who only created the evil in this world to spite Ormuzd, the Creator of both the material and spiritual worlds. This god, ruler or

prince of this world, has therefore an attribute not found in the Jewish-Persian devil of later Judaism. Whence this new title and dignity? It is a strictly Gnostic conception. The Gnostic demiurge, the creator of the material world, is an emanation, son or logos of the Supreme God, the unknown and unseen Father — No man hath seen God at any time, John 1:18. This demiurge is the κοσμοκράτωρ, the world-ruler. But he is also represented in some Gnostic systems as a fallen being like the devil of the New Testament. Thus in the yima-legend of the Mandæan system, yima or Ptahil, the world-creator, makes a covenant with the demons of darkness and is consequently rejected and bound with chains. This explains the Gnostic idea reported by Theodoret that "the Father of Christ wishing to destroy the God of the Jews together with the other angels, sent Christ into the world." Hence the conclusion seems certain that the New Testament "god" or "ruler of this world" must be the result of a fusion of this Gnostic demiurge and the Jewish Satan.

As an apposite conclusion of this excursus a curious piece of ancient lore found in 1 Cor 2:6-8, will be cited, "Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world that come to nought; But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory: Which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." This is a very obscure, disconnected and fragmentary statement. What should be specially noted here is Paul's assertion that the archons or princes of this world *did not know the Lord of glory.* It is perfectly obvious that Paul here uses the word ἄρχων in a Gnostic sense just as in Eph. 2:2, *i. e.*, he means by archons the powers of darkness, the κοσμοκρατορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου and not Pontius Pilate, the chief priests and pharisees. Jesus did not triumph over them, nor did he destroy their secular power in his death on the cross. His death, according to the general tenor of the New Testament, had an exclusively spiritual significance. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil." (1 John 3:8.) In Luke 22:53 Jesus is reported to have said at the time of his arrest in the garden of Gethsemane, "this is your hour, and the power of darkness." Now then, since the word archons unquestionably connotes the unseen powers of evil, how shall we account for Paul's positive declaration that

they did not know the Lord of glory? In the gospels it is distinctly stated that the devils and unclean spirits knew him. It is, of course, impossible to assume that Paul's fragmentary allusion, to an event in the Redeemer's life, could be the source of post-Pauline Gnostic speculations regarding the descent of the Redeemer among the archons or rulers of darkness. The only satisfactory hypothesis is that both Paul and the Gnostics made use of an ancient Oriental mystery myth. Fortunately such a myth, uninfluenced by Christian thought, and clearing up this dark and difficult passage, is still extant. In the Mandæan religion, a cult of the seven Archons, deities of the seven planets with their father and mother, Ur and Ruhâ of ancient Babylonian origin, there are two versions of the Semitic myth dealing with the Redeemer's battle against the powers of darkness. In one, the divine hero is called Mândâ d'Haje, in the other Hibil-ziwa, who is sometimes represented as the son of the former. These deities of light, purely Pagan and mythological, are sent forth by the superior gods, at the beginning of the world, to subdue the rebellious powers of darkness. They descend in disguise and securing, by a ruse from the demons, the dark and anxiously guarded secret on which their strength and safety depend, they gain a complete victory. The demons are then bound and imprisoned. These are the chief features of this cosmogonic myth unfortunately grafted on Christianity and thus retarding for millenniums the advent of the religion of truth. The point of special importance, in this connection, is that the divine combatant remained *unknown to his foes* and thereby won the victory. Now, according to Paul's assertion in the above-quoted passage, the powers of darkness, the archons of this world, put Jesus to death unwittingly. If they had known him he says, they would not have done so; why? because they held the dark and profound secret, "which God ordained before the world," *i. e.*, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," that his death involved their destruction and hence the redemption of a world so long in their power. That the devils, according to ancient mythology, were in possession of this secret is evident from Gen. 3:15, where the Lord informs the serpent that the seed of woman, *i. e.*, Christ, should bruise his head, and also from the testimony of the unclean spirit in Luke 4:34, who said: "Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? *art thou come to destroy us?* I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God."

The mythical element in Paul's pretended wisdom of God is clear and unmistakable. Not only is the generally accepted orthodox dogma of Jesus as the second person in the Trinity sent forth to redeem the world, based on the solar myth of a battle between the personified powers of light and darkness, but also the doctrine that by concealing his identity the god of light vanquished the powers of darkness. The oldest account of this myth extant is doubtless that of ancient Babylonia preserved in cuneiform literature according to which Marduk or Merodach, the god of light, is sent forth to do battle against the chaotic monster Tiâmat or Tiâwat. From this is perhaps derived the Mandæan versions just quoted. Now since the mythic feature of the Redeemer's *incognito* is common to Paul, the Gnostics and the Pagan sources, but contradicted by the gospels, the only possible conclusion is that Paul got his idea from the rich mythological lore current in his day. An idea derived from an ethnic solar myth Paul offers in all seriousness and naïve sincerity as a deep, mysterious wisdom of God! We cannot doubt his sincerity; he believed most implicitly that God had revealed this secret to him "by his Spirit," "for" he says in the same connection, "the Spirit searcheth all thing, yea, the deep things of God." All mystics in all ages and of all creeds have had the same faith, and the same strong convictions on this point of an immediate, inner revelation of the will and purposes of God. Our scientific age demands an objective criterion of truth and refuses to accept such subjective claims without any adequate test.

Other proofs might be adduced to show how absolutely unconscious and innocent Paul was of any accurate knowledge regarding the source of his, so-called, revelations, but those already given will suffice. It is perfectly evident that Paul never analyzed or criticised his own thoughts, nor did he ever compare the ideas that welled up in his mind with those of the environments in which he had lived from his childhood to the days of his apostleship and extensive travels. Paul's mind and mental habit may in the main be termed primitive, being strictly unscientific and very religious with a pronounced diathesis of mysticism, ecstasy and visions. However, this is not at all surprising if we only bear in mind that he lived in an unscientific and superstitious age more than 1800 years ago, and furthermore reflect on the fact, so well expressed by E. Crawley, "that human nature remains potentially primitive, and it is not easy even for those most favored by descent to

rise above these primitive ideas, precisely because these ideas spring eternally from permanent functional causes."

In the light of what has just been said regarding the indebtedness of Paul and the New Testament writers generally to the stock of contemporaneous philosophical mythical and religious ideas there is no room for doubt as to where Paul got his notion of god-eating — the mystery cults scattered throughout all Asia Minor, Greece, Palestine and Syria furnished it. All that Paul needed to do when the Christian love-feasts, the *agapae*, had become too disorderly and a disgrace to the church at Corinth was to substitute for them a solemn sacramental communion in Jesus' body and blood. This formal change consisted merely in the elimination of all the features of an ordinary meal or feast. All through the Acts we read only of the meetings for the purpose of "the breaking of bread" but no sacrament in the Pauline sense. Now these *agapae* that Paul had perhaps introduced with his founding of the Corinthian church, and held in commemoration of Christ's death, had degenerated so that even drunkenness occurred. This, he thinks, is not the way to eat the Lord's supper. "What?" he asks, "have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" We do not know when Paul had his revelation concerning the institution of the Eucharist. But it is clear that he claimed such a revelation, for his statement in 1 Cor. 11 : 23 does not admit of any other interpretation. He declares there that he received the Eucharist of the Lord, *i. e.*, Jesus, with the same positiveness as when in Gal. 1 : 12, speaking of the entire gospel message, he says: "I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, *but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.*" It is doubtful if theologians have ever fully appreciated the sweeping and extravagant import of this claim. He certainly believed that he received it in a trance state, ἔκστασις, similar to those recorded in the Acts when he was on the way to Damascus, when praying in the temple at Jerusalem and the night following his defence before the Roman captain, who snatched him from the fanatical Jewish mob, and before the Pharisees and Sadducees. His visions and trances were very numerous, an irrefragable evidence of his neurasthenia and psychic abnormality. The words of Jesus as he appeared and spoke to Paul in these visions are easily accounted for by the apostle's psychic make-up, and the state of his mind as induced by his latest experiences. (See Acts 22 and 23 chapters.) The lives of ecstatic saints and sinners are full of similar visions. Jesus, Mary, and the various saints often

appear to devout Catholics to dispense advice, consolation and illumination in the truth and God's will.

It must have been comparatively easy for Paul to make this change in the manner of celebrating the rite, for the Corinthians were familiar with similar exclusively sacramental ceremonies — Eleusis was only a short distance from their city. Furthermore — and this is the most important to bear in mind — the religious spirit of the time craved sacraments. Says Prof. Adolph Harnack: "The time of material and bloody sacrifices was passed, they were missed no more in the religions; but the time of sacraments was by far not passed, it prevailed and flourished. Every hand which reached out after religion sought to grasp it in the form of the sacrament; the eye saw sacraments where there were none, and the senses created them." Moreover, Paul's authority and the revelations on which he based his injunctions to the churches were never questioned. The age was credulous and divine communications accepted as facts.

The conclusion arrived at by such scholars as Spitta, Eichhorn, Schmidt, Gardner and others, that Paul and not Jesus instituted the Eucharist has been objected to by conservative writers, but without very weighty reasons. James W. Falconer referring to 1 Co., 11 : 23 says: "But if this command were out of all accord with the instructions which the other apostles had received from Christ, they would have strongly opposed an innovation by Paul." Hence he concludes that it is "not possible seriously to doubt that Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper." In reply it is sufficient to point out first, that we have no means of knowing whether such an objection was ever raised by the other apostles. Only Paul and the three Synoptics mention the institution of the rite, and scholars are now beginning to surmise that the Synoptic accounts either depended on, or are interpolations derived from Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 11. The latter wrote about ten years earlier than Mark, the oldest of all the gospels. Neither at Paul's first meeting with the pillars of the Church, James, Peter and John at the Council in Jerusalem, in 50 or 51 A. D., nor at the last in 58 A. D., is the question of the sacrament mentioned. The breaking of bread which Paul observed at Troas on his last journey to Jerusalem in 58 A. D., a ceremony mentioned a number of times in the Acts, cannot strictly be considered a sacrament in the Pauline sense and form. But Mr. Falconer's objection will seem quite nugatory if we only bear in

mind the laxity of thought and peculiar mental attitude of the ancient Oriental. Why did the disciples never object to all the myths and legends about Jesus as they are told in the gospels which must have first existed as tradition before becoming a part of the Synoptic story? What scientifically trained Bible student believes to-day that Jesus ever cursed the fig-tree and effectively commanded it to bear no more fruit "forever"? Who believes that at his command a storm ceased? What scientist believes that he raised a Lazarus, dead four days and already in a state of decomposition? Nor can, for example, the long and numerous speeches attributed to Jesus by the author of the Fourth Gospel be regarded as actually delivered on the said occasions, but rather as the product of the unknown writer sixty or seventy years after Jesus' death. No objections were raised to these subjective accretions and fictions in the gospels until modern times. In the second place it must not be forgotten that Paul never recanted one iota of what he wrote and preached. The probability is that, being looked upon as the greatest of the apostles, he was never called upon to do so. Let him be accursed who preaches and teaches anything that differs from the gospel I declare unto you. This was Paul's extremely dogmatic attitude of mind. His implicit unshakable faith in visions and personal revelation from Jesus intensified his sense of absolute apodictic certainty and strengthened the dogmatic spirit he had acquired from his early Pharisaic training. Even if the other apostles had opposed Paul's mystic rite it would have availed nothing. If, as is reasonable to suppose is the import of the phrase *παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου*, he had a vision of Jesus commanding him to institute the Eucharist, that sanctioned it in the mind of Paul and his fellow believers as a divine institution for all time. Furthermore Paul's indomitable will, religious zeal and fervor, superior intellectual powers, learning and influence were bound to prevail in giving form and direction to early Christianity. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that historical Christianity is mainly the work of Paul instead of Jesus. His own account in Gal. 2 of the council in Jerusalem in 50 or 51 A. D., is a proof of this fact. At this council where he met James, Peter and John he yielded in nothing. For to those who came "to spy out our liberty," he says, "we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour.' And he adds, "for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference *added nothing to me*." And finally when the "pillars," *i. e.*, James, Cephas and John, "perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." At the last

council in Jerusalem in 58 A. D., it is rather surprising to find the stubborn Antimonian Paul show such a yielding, acquiescent spirit. For he agrees to take four men who had a vow on them into the temple, pays for having their heads shaved and offers up a sacrifice for each one of them. His motive for doing so was that the Jewish Christians who still believed it necessary to keep the Mosaic law should not oppose him and his work of evangelization. It may be taken for granted, however, that he looked upon this performance as a mere matter of expediency totally destitute of any religious efficacy. For Paul taught the definitive abrogation of the ceremonial law with its ablutions and sacrifices, through the death and resurrection of Christ. On the whole Paul never compromised any doctrine that he believed to be a divinely revealed truth.

Whether Paul, Jesus or some one else instituted the Christian Eucharist may never be proven to everybody's satisfaction, of one thing, however, the unbiased investigator can be quite sure, viz., that the rite is rooted in a primitive and Pagan past, being based on the early universal belief in sympathetic magic. To an orthodox Jew of the official religion its fundamental idea of god-eating must have been positively repulsive. And this fact makes it extremely improbable that Jesus himself, while still alive, instituted it. In the sixth chapter of John's gospel where Jesus is made to discourse on the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood, the strangeness and incomprehensibility of this doctrine to the Jews is inadvertently, but clearly brought out. Here Jesus is represented as declaring to the Jews that he is the living bread that has come down from heaven, and that this bread is his flesh. And in the most solemn manner he proclaims to them this mystic, uncanny dogma: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Such words if they had been actually uttered in the hearing of the Jews would have had a savage and cannibalic ring. Still, such a reaction is not recorded, for the author is so steeped in mysticism that he is not conscious of how incongruous and incomprehensible such language must be to Jesus' supposed hearers. The author merely says that "the Jews strove among themselves saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" It is plain that Jesus was to them a mystificator. But many of his disciples, too, are mys-

tified and perplexed, for "when they had heard this they said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" St. Nilus's Arabs, and the Orphic worshippers of Dionysos, Omadios or Omestes, the Raw, *i. e.*, Living One, would have easily understood the speaker when he declared his flesh to be living, heavenly bread able to impart eternal life. In Hebrew and in Syriac, as already pointed out, the term "living flesh" is equivalent in meaning to raw flesh. It is clear that our author is speaking in a mystical and spiritual sense, but the Jews and the disciples understand his words in their literal and concrete acceptation. Such thought-imagery was totally foreign to the Hebrew theology of the time. By a strict and well indoctrinated Jew the mystery cults with their sacramental eating of a god's flesh and blood, were naturally looked upon as vulgar and heathen superstitions. There is sufficient evidence all through the Fourth Gospel, but the sixth chapter alone should make it plain that its author is steeped in Oriental mysticism and theosophy. And yet we are asked by conservative scholars of to-day, to believe that the Synoptics give us an actual historical incident in the life of Jesus according to which the disciples receive from their Master's hand his own flesh and blood without the least surprise or hesitation, nay, the crude Pagan idea seems to be long familiar and perfectly comprehensible to them. The conjecture is legitimate that the twelve disciples never knew nor practiced the sacrament in that mystic sense of god-eating first met with in Paul's writings. What they observed was doubtless, only the *agapae*, or the breaking of bread.

Thus the ethnological background of this mystic rite has been briefly sketched. Our study has clearly revealed the fact that the scientific principles of the evolution and continuity of human culture obtain in the field of religion also. The superstition and thaumaturgic faith of past ages have wrapped the origin of religion in a veil of impenetrable mystery, and made of it an *adytum* unapproachable by the human intellect. But the Sibylline cry of warning "*Procul, O, procul este profani!*" is no longer heeded, the sacred precinct has been invaded, the veil has been lifted. The theory of its supernatural origin has been definitively exploded. The most sacred dogmas and mystic rites are found to be merely outgrowths of primitive myths and magical ceremonies. The conclusion is amply supported that even the Christian Eucharist is of ancient Pagan origin, having become an integral part of the Christian cult by a process of theological speculation on the meaning of Christ's death, resurrection and mission in the world.

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF PRAYER.

By JAMES BISSETT PRATT,

Williams College.

It is not a little surprising that in an age when so much emphasis is laid upon empiricism and the value of "facts," so little attempt should have been made to study empirically what is perhaps the most important and most vital fact of religion. Elaborate psychological and statistical studies have been made of religious development, conversion, etc., but prayer, which, as Sabatier says, is "religion in act," has been left almost completely to the theologians and philosophers. Volumes have been written, and are still being written, telling us what prayer used to be, what prayer might be, what prayer ought to be, but, beyond a few short though excellent papers,[1] scarcely anything can be found which will tell us what prayer actually is. It has seemed to me worth while, therefore, laying aside all questions of theory, to seek to find out what people actually pray for, why they pray at all, and what they get from prayer.

The best way of obtaining data upon these matters appeared to me to be the old and somewhat dubious method of the questionnaire. With all its obvious faults, this seems to be the only method of getting information of this sort from any considerable number of present-day persons. I shall therefore make no further apologies for it, but shall merely add that by considerable care in the interpretation and use of the answers I have sought to correct the inevitable bad perspective and the other unreliable features of the questionnaire method. Most of the material was collected for me (though under my direction) by three of my students — Mr. E. B. Hart, Mr. S. T. Stanley and Mr. H. S. Dodd — to whom my thanks are due. From the fact that four questionnaires, all differing from each other, were used, it has resulted that the responses to the various questions differ considerably in num-

[1] Most of them in this *Journal*. But see also Strong's recent "Psychology of Prayer," a most excellent little book.

ber — hence the rather ragged appearance of the results when reduced to figures. This is of little importance, however, as I know too well the unreliable nature of questionnaire statistics to lay any great weight upon them.

Much of the material collected I have been unable, for lack of space, to make use of in this paper. It will not be possible, for instance, to touch upon the development of prayer, difficulties in prayer and their causes, various influences upon it, etc., etc. I come, therefore, at once to our chief question, which may be phrased in some such way as this: In what do people's prayers actually consist? What is their nature and content? How are they used and how well do they serve their purpose?

One does not have to print and circulate a questionnaire to learn that prayer, as actually practiced, is of two chief kinds and has two chief purposes. I refer, of course, to the prayer of communion and the prayer of petition.[1]

With the great majority of praying people, prayer is certainly regarded — and most of them would say *experienced* — as communion with a higher power. The nature of this belief and experience I shall take up later and shall here merely give the statistical results of my various questionnaires upon this point. Altogether I had answers from 170 persons relating to our present question. Of these 6 do not pray, 110 say they feel "communion with God" in prayer, while the remaining 54, though nearly all believing that God hears their prayers, feel no such sense of His presence.

Of course communion and petition are by no means mutually exclusive, and most real prayers probably involve both. Thus I find that out of 65 respondents, 42 describe their prayers as "consisting largely of petitions," the 23 others saying that petition forms but a small part of their prayers. It is interesting to note in this connection that 17 of my respondents believe God's actions are changed by their prayers, as against 26 who feel sure this is not the case. A comparison of the answers to these two questions shows that nearly half of those whose prayers are largely petitions do not believe that God is changed

[1] There are, of course, more elaborate classifications—*cf.*, for instance, Wundt's latest work: "Mythus und Religion," in which he adds to the two kinds named the prayer of confession and the prayer of praise.

by them, but consider the benefits subjective. To put much the same thing in other words, about half of those who believe that God's actions are in no way affected by their prayers continue to make prayers which are "largely petitions," because of the need of expressing their desires and because of the subjective benefits indubitably experienced from the actual formulation of these petitions.

The mental attitude and the rather varied points of view of those who believe that God's actions are, or may be, affected by prayer may be seen from the following responses: "Yes,—a personal God must be moved by personal appeal." "I think God's one purpose is the final safety of my soul; that, although my petitions may clash with His minor purposes, He grants them if I have Faith, yet His will works out in another way." "God may be changed if I can plead a promise." "God cannot give unless I'm ready. Prayer is proof of readiness." "I do not know what spiritual laws are involved in this matter of prayer. The physical atmosphere is all about me but does me no good unless I breathe it in. So God surrounds my life but does not come in and fill it unless I open my soul to Him. What acts of His may be conditioned on prayer I know not because of my ignorance of so many spiritual laws."

The position of those who do not think their prayers affect God's action hardly needs illustration, but the mental attitude of the man who, in spite of this belief, continues making petitions may not be so plain. There are, as I indicated above, two chief reasons for this continuance of prayer. The commonest is the simple human impulse to pray, to cry out for the help we need, for the good we want. There are moments in the life of almost every one when the human heart within us *must* and *will* have help, when the burning wish itself prays and we feel that should we be silent, the very stones would cry out. At such times all our theories about prayer seem cold and absurdly irrelevant, and the prayer bursts through them like Samson from the green withes of Delilah. For genuine prayer is on a deeper level than any of our philosophies about it. It stands related to them as does the hot pulsing blood in the living veins to Harvie's theory. There is deep psychological insight in the Biblical exclamation, "O Thou who hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come!"

The other and less common reason for continued petitional prayer

is a more or less deliberate determination to attain the indubitable benefits which past experience has shown do actually flow from such prayer. It pays to hold our highest ideals and our dearest wishes before our minds. As Manson says in the Servant in the House, "Everything comes true if you wish hard enough." For if you really try to wish with all your might you will find that there are but few things for which you do or can wish hard enough; and these few things once found, the constant concentration of your attention upon them does tend to make them come true. In Emerson's words, "What we pray to ourselves for is always granted." One of my respondents writes: "It is a good thing to formulate definitely one's desires and ideals and by examining into their motives decide whether or not they are worthy. In asking for anything I always try to make up my mind why I want it and what will be the result of my obtaining it, and in consequence prayer sometimes leads me to give up cherished schemes. My conception of God is at present rather abstract than personal, and so my prayers are not often petitions for definite things. I incline to believe that petitions do not affect God, still I think it best to make petitions for no other reason than for the stimulus that they give me in the quest of that for which I have asked. Most of my prayer is a seeking after what is best for me or for others and therefore to be asked for and striven after. By determining to strive after it, I bring into play a better self within to aid in obtaining it. . . . . For several years before I came to the conception of prayer which I now hold, I had convinced myself of the uselessness of a great deal of what is called prayer, though I still clung to early habits of formal petitions, till, when I was about 20 or 21 (3 years ago) my present ideas, which had long been growing, were fairly well formulated and I felt justified in discarding a worthless custom. The subjective benefits of prayer are sufficient to make it very much worth while. In fact, if such earnest self-examination and meditation as I have described is to be considered prayer (and I so consider it) it is indispensable."

Cases of this sort are, of course, rare, but they do occur and they show that *some* of the indubitable subjective benefits of prayer may be reaped no matter what one's theoretical beliefs may be. Atheism, of course, is almost sure to destroy prayer; but the usual view, voiced,

for instance, by Mr. David Spence Hill, that "atheism and prayer are two terms contradictory and irreconcilable"[1] is not perfectly exact.

We turn now to the content of petitional prayer. Twenty-nine out of ninety-three of my respondents state specifically that there are things for which they would not pray, and several others imply the same.[2]

The following things are thus mentioned as taboo: "Material" things, selfish things, trivial things, things controlled by natural law. Fifty-four of the ninety-three pray for "material" blessings as well as "spiritual" ones, though the latter are, of course, much oftener mentioned and much more emphasized than the former.[3] Thus more than half believe in praying for whatever one wants—evil things, of course, excepted. The commonest answer is, "I pray for whatever I need," or "whatever is the burden of my soul." "Nothing is too small to consult God about," writes one. "I pray for *help*," writes another; "I would not pray for a set of fish hooks, but I do pray for health." "I pray for the spirit to say Thy will be done." "I never pray for physical things or things of purely selfish interest. Sometimes I pray for great public causes."[4]

As will be seen from these citations, many of the blessings asked for in petitional prayer are of a general nature. Many specific requests for perfectly definite, particular things are also made. More than half the praying community certainly asks not only for general blessings, but also for special, concrete things, and presumably believes that prayer helps one in obtaining the things desired. This, therefore, brings up the question of "special answers to prayer"—a subject whose importance and complexity will, I trust, justify a somewhat more detailed treatment than that which I have given some of the preceding topics.

[1] "The Education and Problems of the Protestant Ministry." *J. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, II, 227.

[2] 75% of Beck's respondents regard it a mistake to pray for a change in the weather.

[3] 73% of Beck's respondents characterized their prayers as "prayers for spiritual blessings," *i. e.*, for "better disposition, firmer resolution and redeemed inward nature."

[4] Only one other of my respondents made any mention of prayer for public causes, though this is, of course, implied in some of the other answers.

I find that exactly 60 out of 90 of my respondents not only believe in direct answer to special prayers, but are convinced that they themselves have had such answers in their own experience. A number of the 30 who have had no such experience also *believe* in special answer to prayer, but the 60 of whom I speak can point you to events in their own lives which they regard as cases of divine intervention in response to their requests.[1] A study of the nature of these requests and their answers may throw some light on a question concerning which a good deal is said and rather little known.

The direct answers to prayer reported by my 60 respondents (and, for that matter, all conceivable answers) may be divided into three chief groups—namely (1) those involving the exertion of influence upon the mind of him who prays, (2) those involving the exertion of influence upon the minds of others, and (3) those involving influence upon material things. I shall give a number of cases under each of these headings. These cases, as the reader will see, are of varying worth and come from persons of widely different mental caliber. Many of them will merely show how ready a naïve faith may be to accept anything as a mark of supernatural interference, and thus in part account for the large proportion of those who believe they have had many specific answers to prayer; while a few may seriously raise the question whether the "naïve faith" referred to is really the only factor at work.

To take up, now, the first of our three classes of answers—the simplest case of an effect or influence upon the mind of him who prays is the rise of some thought or impulse in response to prayer. One minister says that themes for sermons are often given him in this way. Another man writes, "I have a way of asking whether it is best to do this or that thing—this reminds me of Socrates's demon—the answer being yes or no. The feeling is very strong sometimes that real answers come, not from God directly, but from some spiritual guide or friend." "A few times," writes another, "in what I now look back upon as crises in my life, after long-continued and earnest prayer, I have come to settled convictions which I do not think were

[1] No one who is acquainted with the workings of the religious consciousness will be surprised that a number of these people insist God is not changed or affected by prayer.

arrived at through any process of reasoning and which certainly did not result from any advice of friends, as no earthly friends knew of the matter under consideration. In each case I accepted this flash of conviction as coming from without, as being direct divine guidance, and no amount of study and thought has usually shaken the conviction or changed my views with regard to its origin."

Assistance in study, in extemporaneous speaking (*e. g.*, in prayer-meeting) and, especially, help in passing examinations is referred to by several of my respondents. For instance: "Yes, I have had special answers. One case was when I with confidence took a certain examination. This examination was easy, but I failed. I was humiliated and soon had to try one of the same kind, but one that I knew to be several times harder. I prayed earnestly and passed the examination. But I confess that I did not rely wholly on prayer, for I studied harder."

Guidance and direction in things big and little also belong here. One respondent feels that his whole life has been shaped in answer to prayer. Another recounts an answer to his petition "for entrance to home at night without disturbing any one, I being locked out." Several report assistance from prayer in finding lost articles — though none of them are so startling as that of the school girl reported by Miss Strong,[1] who having lost her note-book, felt, after prayer, an impulse to go to a certain place where she had not been for ten days (and which she did not remember visiting for over a month), and there to her great surprise found her note-book. One of my respondents is convinced he was guided to work in answer to prayer. "When in college 300 miles from home I made it a special object of prayer for two weeks that I might get a place to work. I got home on July 2. Late next day I celebrated the 4th. Next morning I fasted and told the Lord 'I will now go out and see if you will guide me.' I was guided like a blind man to a big store where a young man told me that a man had discharged his clerk who had been with him twelve years because he had refused to work on the 4th of July. I went there and was employed there for seven successive vacations at two dollars and a half a day summers and three dollars a day winters until I got through college."

[1] "The Relation of the Subconscious to Prayer." *Am. Jour. of Rel., Psy. and Ed.*, II 165.

Many a man attributes his conversion to his own prayer for it, and still oftener is strength to resist temptation or to perform a difficult duty believed to come as an answer to one's cry for help. The following response, selected from a large number, expresses the experience of many: "I have had specific answers to prayer in many cases where I have petitioned for tranquility or self-possession on the approach of events for which I knew that I should need these things. Even in the most trivial things I have prayed for 'a way out,' and some way has usually presented itself in every case that I desired it for the best."

On the border-line between our first and second classes, or rather belonging to both, fall cases of reconciliation with old friends, in which the minds of both parties seem to have been somehow influenced. The cases reported by my respondents in which they have prayed for the return of lost friends and relatives and their "prayers have been answered" belong obviously in the second of our classes, in which the divine influence is supposed to act upon the mind not of the one who prays but of the one prayed for. I have a number of such cases, none of them very striking. Here also belongs a large group of relatively trivial things prayed for and received — two or three of which I copy down here as samples of the cruder kind of belief in answer to prayer.

"When a child away at school I asked leave to spend Easter at home. I was refused. I prayed for three weeks, and got permission." "I asked to be privileged to attend the World's Sunday School Convention in Jerusalem when the obstacles seemed insurmountable. Still when I prayed about it there was always a sense of assurance that it would be. This continued for some time without development. By chance I met an officer of the World's S. S. Convention while I was visiting a brother in another State. At once the conviction struck my heart that here was the first visible step in the answer to my prayer: and so it proved. Through this man, God opened the way for me. On the one side it was all perfectly natural and every step it seemed could be traced. On the other side it was to me just as clearly Divine and a direct answer to prayer." "We had a convention or Presbytery in our church and were to entertain delegates. I was used to praying over little details and the thought came, shall I pray to get a delegate that may be God's choice for me to entertain? I put the thought away

for the moment and then said, why not? and so asked definitely for the delegate God would like to have me take. An independent missionary from South America with a little boy, a native of Brazil, was assigned me. I bethought me of a fine suit of black clothes that had been left in my hands, and I offered it to him. He said this: '*I wonder if God sent me here?*' I think I can say with all my heart that *He did*, and those words made the answer so plain."

A much more important and worthy, as well as much commoner, object of prayer is the conversion of one's friends. Seven cases of this are mentioned by my respondents, but as no details are given I shall not quote from them. How prayers of this sort may often bring about their own answer may be seen from the following account which I take from Prime's "The Power of Prayer."[1] In Kalamazoo, Mich., during the great revival of 1857, the following notice was read; "A praying wife requests the prayers of this meeting for her unconverted husband, that he may be converted." "All at once," says Prime, "a stout, burly man arose and said, 'I am that man, I have a pious, praying wife, and this request must be for me. I want you to pray for me.' As soon as he sat down in the midst of sobs and tears, another man arose and said, 'I am that man: I have a praying wife. She prays for me. I am sure that I am that man, and I want you to pray for me.' Three, four or five more arose and said, 'We want you to pray for us, too.'" If the accounts given by Prime and many others are trustworthy, however, we cannot account for all conversions of this sort through the belief that one is being prayed for by a wife or other dear one. A number of cases are at least "on record" of conversion seemingly in answer to prayer though the one prayed for was said to be quite ignorant of the prayers. To quote again from Prime: "Another father requested prayer for a son at sea. He was away on the Pacific. His case was made the subject of earnest prayer. He has just returned to port. He was converted in mid-ocean, and just about the time he was made the subject of prayer."[2] It must, of course, be noted that even if one accept this case as verified in all its details, the boy probably supposed his fathhr at least desired his conversion, and that after all there is nothing very startling in the coincidence of the dates.

[1] P. 140.

[2] "The Power of Prayer," p. 142

Rather harder to account for by ordinary modes of explanation are the cases, so often reported, of financial assistance seeming to result from prayer. The lives of such men as Moody and Müller are full of striking instances of this sort. When Müller needed money for any of his charitable institutions he prayed for it, waited, "looked out for an answer," and usually (or at least often) got it—sooner or later and in one form or another. Many of the cases were remarkable, though it must be remembered that it was known to the whole community that Müller was likely to be in need of money most of the time. The following cases I take from Prime's "Prayer and its Answer." A widow was told by her landlord that unless she paid her rent that day she should be turned out. Thereupon she told the city missionary, who prayed over it but said nothing of it to any one. A gentleman who was giving him some tracts to distribute handed him also a roll of bills, suggesting that perhaps he could distribute them to advantage. He thanked the donor, but did not count the bills till out of sight, when he found them exactly sufficient to meet the widow's rent. Another gentleman had a strange impulse at a prayer meeting to give some money to a stranger sitting in front of him. The stranger did not look needy and the gentleman tried to shake off his impulse but could not, and so stuck a five dollar bill in the stranger's pocket without the latter seeing it. Now the stranger, as it transpired, was greatly in need of money and had been praying for it and when, on returning home, he found it in his pocket, regarded it as an answer to his prayer. One of my own students, while in college was stranded in a strange town (where he had been addressing a Sunday School) with 80 cents in his pocket. He needed three dollars to get to Troy, and had no means of getting any money, so prayed for it. The Sunday School superintendent of the town, a man whom he scarcely knew and who knew nothing about his need, came up to him and presented him with twenty dollars as a token of appreciation of his decision to enter the ministry. Seven other cases of a somewhat similar nature are reported by my respondents.

I have dealt thus far only with the assumed supernatural influence upon *minds*. But many people make prayers whose answer would involve the direct action of God upon natural things, and many insist they themselves have seen instances in which prayers of this nature have been answered. Beck, for instance, gives the following from

one of his respondents: "Father was absent from home; mother and we children were in the little log cabin when a terrific storm swept over us. We knelt and prayed that the cyclone would not wreck our home and destroy our lives. When the storm subsided we found that the barn, a much stronger structure, was swept away, and the house not harmed, and that when it stood in the path of the storm and in a position that the storm would strike it before it would the barn and other buildings which were destroyed. I cannot but believe that this was a providential answer to prayer."[1] None of my respondents, however, reported any answer which, even if accepted as absolutely exact, need involve *direct* action of God on material things; all might be and very likely would be explained by the respondents themselves as cases where God acted indirectly upon matter through mind. There were, for example, no cases of prayer for a change of weather. Protection from "danger" is referred to by several of my respondents, but usually without specifying what the danger was. One speaks of "safety from being hit by stones showered about me," as due to prayer. Victory in war has in all ages and in all religions been attributed to prayer. This kind of answer is mentioned by only one of my respondents, but he has no doubt that the outcome of the battle of Manila Bay was due to his petition. "For days, scores of times, I had prayed these words: 'O God, give the Americans victory and don't let *our* soldiers and *our* sailors suffer!' And when I read the public placard, 'Spanish fleet annihilated without the loss of a man,' I was dumb. It seemed God had answered by a miracle." Physical strength and skill is often regarded as a gift of God in answer to prayer. "In teaching school," writes one man, "I was given strength to thrash a boy much bigger and stronger than I." Prayer often helps the praying athlete. One of my students writes: "One occasion on which I believe I received direct and immediate answer to prayer was when I was in an athletic contest and God gave me strength and helped me to win the event which I had almost lost." If we may take seriously (and I suppose we may) the Rev. W. A. Sunday's account of his first ball game after his conversion, prayer played a considerable part in his success. A difficult fly came to him in the field at a very critical point in the game. . . . .

[1] P. 120.

"It was up to me. I turned and ran with all my might, and said: 'O God! If ever you helped a mortal man in your life help me get that ball, and you haven't much time to decide.' I looked over my shoulder and saw the ball near—I shot out my left hand, and the ball struck and stuck. You can't convince me God did not help me that day, because I tried to 'trot square.'"[1]

For most of us, I suppose, if prayer for an athletic victory is to be taken seriously it will be on psychological rather than on theological grounds. It is hard to believe that God's in his heaven watching the ball game and favoring the side that prays the hardest. It is, however, quite comprehensible that "the prayer of faith" may give the athlete at the critical moment just the self-confidence which he needs to free his limbs from the inhibitions of fear, and allow every muscle to work more smoothly and effectively.

In the case of its use for the sick we have even better psychological ground for accepting the genuine effectiveness of prayer; nor does the conception of the direct or indirect influence of God as a result of prayer involve here any such preposterous theology as in the case of the athletic contest. We are not, however, concerned in this paper with the theological question, our only aim here being to get at the facts from the human side.

The belief that God answers prayers for the sick is, of course, very widespread, and there can really be no doubt that the prayer which the sick man makes for himself, or which is made for him in his presence, does often have very considerable therapeutic effect. Here is the place to quote the oft-quoted sentence of Professor James (which many of my readers have doubtless been expecting): "As regards prayers for the sick, if any medical fact can be considered to stand firm, it is that in certain environments prayer may contribute to recovery and should be encouraged as a therapeutic measure."[2] This is one of the general facts which we all accept in a general way. From previously acquired psychological and physiological data we could all, moreover, describe the "certain environments" in which prayer might prove helpful. Some definite data on the subject, however,—cases of the influence of prayer carefully observed by trained observers—would

[1] Colliers Weekly, Oct. 24, 1908, p. 13.

[2] The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 463.

be most welcome. In searching for these, one turns, of course, first of all to the chapter on "Prayer and Its Therapeutic Value" in "Religion and Medicine," but lays it down with the same feeling of disappointment that one gets from many other chapters of that rather disappointing book. Not a single case directly observed by the authors is reported, and in fact the only definite case referred to is Melanchthon's recovery after Luther's prayer for him. We are also told that "a great English newspaper in an article on sleep recommended sufferers from insomnia to betake themselves to prayer."[1] It is to be hoped that in his forthcoming book, Dr. Worcester will not confine himself to the history books and newspapers for his data on prayer, but will give us some of his own cases.

Fortunately, the fifty-seven different kinds of Mind Cure and Faith Cure have not confined themselves to psychological generalities, but have reported definitely a number of cases in which prayer has been used as one of the instruments of faith and seems most certainly to have contributed to recovery. Some of these cases have been studied by Dr. Goddard, to whose paper, in volume X of the *Journal of Psychology*, I would refer the reader. There is, of course, no doubt that sickness is often caused in part by the inhibition of the higher brain centres upon certain bodily functions, and that this inhibition may be largely overcome by the abolition of worry and the cultivation of confidence. Hence the undoubted efficacy of "faith cure," of which prayer is often a most important instrument. But the subject of "Mind Cure" and religious therapeutics is, of course, too large to be discussed here, and I shall, therefore, say no more about it.

The psychological explanation of the curative effects of prayer is summed up, as every one knows, in the term "suggestion" and "auto-suggestion." All suggestion to be effective must, of course, ultimately be (or become) auto-suggestive, hence the orthodox psychological explanation of the therapeutic value of prayer covers only those cases where the prayer is made by the patient or at least where he is cognizant of the prayer. But certainly many people believe in the utility of prayer under conditions which preclude any such explanation.[2] It is, of course, a common practice to pray for the recovery of

[1] P. 312.

[2] Nearly all of Beck's respondents pray for people who have no knowledge of the prayer.

infants and of sick persons who are too ill to know anything about the prayers made for them, and it is a fairly common belief that such prayers are at times genuinely efficacious. Orthodox psychology has here nothing to say, but two explanations are offered, one by orthodox theology, the other by heterodox psychology. The former refers the supposed effect to the direct influence of God in answer to prayer; the latter refers it to telepathy. I do not see that we have as yet sufficient data to justify us in accepting or refusing either of the explanations proposed or the supposed facts which they are thought to explain. It must, of course, be admitted that the trend of modern scientific thought is, on the whole, against the acceptance of any influence from prayer upon sick persons who are entirely ignorant that they are being prayed for. Yet this skeptical trend is based rather upon "general considerations" than upon known facts; and "Science" has often been forced to change its mind. It is quite possible that further investigation may demonstrate that suggestion may be given by telepathy [1] and that prayer may therefore act therapeutically upon one who is not cognizant of it as such, according to the same general psychological laws by which prayer for oneself may prove efficacious. The chief reason for doubting both the supposed facts and the proposed explanation is that we have as yet no cogent reason for believing either. If we had unquestionable evidence for the supposed facts we might use it to demonstrate the proposed explanation; and if we had absolute demonstration of the proposed principle of explanation we might apply it to the supposed facts. In the absence of both these desirable things, however, it may be wise to postpone the problem of explanation until we are more sure of our facts, and meanwhile to confine ourselves to the less ambitious question of the nature of the prayers people actually make and the beliefs they cherish concerning the efficacy of those prayers. This, of course, is what I have sought to do in my treatment of petitional prayer.

We turn now to the prayer of communion. As reported some pages back, 110 out of 170 of my respondents feel in prayer actual communion with God, analogous to communion with a present friend,

[1] Rev. A. T. Fryer, for instance, gives some cases from the recent revival in Wales, which point toward telepathy as a plausible explanation. See Proc. Soc. psy. Research, Vol. XIX, p. 87.

while 6 of the 170 do not pray, and the 54 others, most of whom believe that God hears their prayers, do not experience any sense of His presence while praying. A comparison with Beck's figures is here again interesting. 70% of his respondents feel the presence of a higher power while in prayer—the percentage of my respondents who feel it being (as shown by the figures just quoted) 65.

The experience known as the sense of communion with God is one of the most interesting things in religious psychology as it is one of the most sacred things in life. It is (so far at least as I can judge) neither negative in its nature nor purely imitative in its origin. It is a very positive—sometimes almost a violent—experience. It is indigenous to every religion and to every social class, and seems to arise spontaneously among all sorts and conditions of men. Of course, like most other things which are worth cultivation and imitation, it is often transplanted by deliberate effort into lives which, but for the effort, would never have known it. Described, as it always is, in glowing terms by those who have experienced it in its freshness, it has become a thing to be desired, and its nurture (quite rightly) inculcated as a duty, and its appearance watched for. Many a good man to whom it is native in only slight degree longs for it, expects it, and at length persuades himself that he, too, has felt it. Thus it has come as near to being a social convention as so purely private and personal an experience can come to be. And as, in its induced and cultivated form, it has so large an element of imitation and auto-suggestion, the temptation to the psychologist is strong to explain it all by means of those light-bringing terms.

This imitative element does beyond all doubt explain a good deal of the "sense of communion" in the case of many of my 110 respondents who testify to having felt it. This is shown by some of their answers to the following questions: "In praying do you consider that you are communing with the Being to whom you pray? Is there any evidence of this? If so, what?" I shall set down some of the answers: "I endeavor to do so. At times a certain awe and quietness not felt at other times." "I consider so but can give no evidence." "At times it seems as if God is very near, but more often there is an absence of that quickening of the heart one has when talking to one he loves." "Yes, to a slight extent. No evidence except my own feelings or rather faith." "Perhaps I do not commune

with Him directly. I try to exclude all other thoughts." "To some extent—but it is possible that it is imagination. Or it may be that my strong faith in a spiritual world may increase the feeling of actual spiritual communion."

The element of imitation is present to some extent (so far as I can judge) in the experience of all my respondents — in fact it could hardly be otherwise in our American community. But in the cases just cited imitation and auto-suggestion seem to explain about all that needs explanation, while in many other cases, though imitation is obviously present, it does not seem sufficient to account for all the experience. Take, for example, the following rather remarkable case, in which imitation is, indeed, explicitly recognized, but is certainly not the only factor to be reckoned with: "My first impression of the presence and response of an unseen being came to me in childhood. My religious instructors (Presbyterian) had strongly impressed upon my mind the necessity of 'finding God.' I therefore sought Him earnestly in prayer, alone in my room at night: and at about ten years of age I found *something* which *answered*. There was first a feeling of exaltation, then a sense of the presence of some one who reached me by means of a new sense. My teachers assured me that this awakening of a new sense was 'conversion,' 'regeneration,' 'the new birth,' and that the person whose presence I felt was God. I accepted their interpretation joyfully, although, even then, child as I was, I noticed that the same sensations were sometimes produced by the unseen and unknown approach of my pastor or my Sunday School teacher. . . . When in my young womanhood I confronted the death of my husband from a disease which involved delirium and therefore seemed to threaten the destruction of the soul as well as of the body, a more definite assurance of God's presence and watchcare became necessary to me. In the darkness of that hour I lifted a silent cry, and the answer came at once, but this time it was in the form of distinctly spoken words — although uttered without sound. The message was in Scripture language and was as clearly objective as though the speaker had been bodily present. I accepted the message as coming directly from God and built upon it the faith which sustained me through that bereavement and the years which followed."

The following response is of value in giving a more exact psychological account of the experience, as known by at least one in-

dividual: and it has the added interest of coming from one who was brought up a Buddhist, and of describing the curious phenomenon of "levitation," so well-known among the medieval mystics, which in this case seems to have originated quite spontaneously and without the influence of imitation and suggestion:

"God is very real to me in prayer. Sometimes more real than my earthly friends but not always, and sometimes He seems to be far away from me. I have no sudden, distinct experience of His presence. But since I came to this country I have met many different and hard problems and was placed in diverse environments and gradually I became conscious of His presence, especially in my deep and earnest prayers and meditations. It is a singular feeling or sensation which comes to me when I pray (not in all of my prayers, but occasionally) that while I pray I feel my body is lifted up from the floor and I feel light and floating, so to speak, in the air. Though my eyes are shut I see objects far below and yet I feel my arms on my bed (as I usually kneel down beside the bed). Sometimes, also, I feel a swelling in my chest. In this state I feel very happy and am in a sort of dreamy state of mind and not so much conscious of the presence of God. I have had such an experience several times, so that when it comes now I recognize it almost immediately. It is not a bad feeling but a happy and enjoyable one. I feel no weight of body and my body becomes as light as a feather. I don't think it affects much my mind and body after the experience. I feel happy and think clearly and do more work."

Cases like the two just quoted are rare; yet the sense of presence may be very real when much less striking. A very common form of the experience is described in the following: "It is most, I think like being in the presence of some very dear friend with whom I am in such close sympathy that words are almost unheard because soul speaks to soul." "Real as one's intercourse with his friend seems, it has not the deep intimate reality of my intercourse with God." "When I talk with God it is as natural and as simple, but far more delightful, than speaking to a dear one close at hand. I know what it is to love Him and let Him love me actively. This continued state is my very life."

It may be of interest if I add here the testimony of one, upon this same matter, who will hardly be accused of imitating a conventional

religious experience—namely, Mr. H. G. Wells. "At times," he writes, "in the silence of the night and in rare lonely moments, I come upon a sort of communion of myself and something great that is not myself. It is perhaps poverty of mind and language obliges me to say that this universal scheme takes on the effect of a sympathetic person—and my communion a quality of fearless worship. These moments happen, and they are the supreme fact of my religious life to me: they are the crown of my religious experience."[1]

These responses just quoted suggest and bring us to the last subject I wish to discuss in this paper—namely, the indubitable and momentous subjective effects of prayer. The tonic, invigorating, and enlightening influence of prayer in the life of every one who knows how to pray is one of the most unquestionable facts of empirical psychology. One may, if he likes, assert dogmatically the impossibility of any "answer" to petitional prayer, one may explain "communion" as auto-suggestion, one may deny the existence of any God and insist that this is a purely material universe, and still be forced to admit the almost unique value of prayer as a source of strength and guidance in the lives of an exceedingly large proportion of the community. It is impossible to read over the responses to a questionnaire on this subject, without being tremendously impressed by the important and vital part that prayer plays in the lives of the respondents. This is the most striking thing about the answers taken as a whole. On other points the language used is frequently conventional, but when the question of the value of prayer in one's actual experience is raised the words and expressions often take on a freshness and spontaneity which bear unmistakable witness to the genuineness of the experience of which they speak. To give anything like statistics here would be useless, for almost every one who prays, whatever his theoretical view of the nature of prayer, is ready to testify to its value in his own life.

The subjective benefits of prayer referred to by my respondents are chiefly the following: calming influence upon the nerves; "spiritual uplift"; self-confidence; the substitution of love for hate, and of courage for fear; an increase of strength, both physical and moral; help in resisting temptation and in thinking clearly; joy, relief from

[1] First and Last Things, p. 69.

care, and the sense that "all's well."—I can do no better than to quote a few of the responses:

"What breath is to the body, prayer is to the soul. It would be as easy to stop thinking and to stop breathing entirely as to stop praying." "There is a sense of moral grip which follows prayer which in my mind is one of the most divine and sublime acts of man." Self knowledge and the relief that comes from being understood are often mentioned. One woman writes, "Prayer frees my mind of matters I would not communicate to others." "I pray in order that I may know myself as God knows me, that I may know what the desires of my heart are." Another writes, "I gain both physical strength and spiritual uplift from prayer. I then feel equal to anything. I could stand any kind of shock or fight any kind of devil. Prayer has made me much more charitable to other people's faults." A more careful and introspective description of the subjective effects of prayer is the following: "Sometimes I gain physical strength and almost always spiritual uplift. At such times the feeling is difficult indeed to describe. It is rather a lightened feeling: a suggestion of 'feeling better.' Open, freer general sensation, apparently easier breathing, also fuller. The sensation is as of something come into, rather than of something gone out of, the body and spirit. From prayer I have noticed the following effects: a readier feeling, as if something more than before could be successfully met; an elation, a sensation of buoyancy; at rare times, inspiration of various kinds and for various things." "Prayer calls uppermost the best that is in me in thought and purpose and pushes back the unworthy. It seems to give me the assurance that life means something, though something larger than I now can see." . . . . I might continue with quotations such as these for pages. Beck reports concerning his respondents, "Almost every answerer feels the manifestation of unusual power [from prayer] which gives ability to accomplish ends," and the same thing might be said of nearly all those who answered my questionnaire. In short, prayer is found in the experience of the majority of those who make use of it to be a source of higher ideals, of clearer insight, and of increased power.

But I fear my analysis has been all inadequate. In pulling my flower to pieces I have quite missed its beauty and nearly destroyed its fragrance. After reading over the testimony of some 200 people as

to the position prayer holds in their lives, one comes away with a total general impression of much vaster proportions than can be derived from any minute analysis ; and I am inclined to think this more general impression the true one. If this be so, prayer is one of those great, dumb, living forces which are on a level too deep for glib description. It belongs with breathing, and the beating heart, and faith in the harvest, and the love of children. It is by these things men live.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

By JOHANNES BROENE

FELLOW IN PSYCHOLOGY, CLARK UNIVERSITY

I. Biographical

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche was born October 15, 1844, at Röcken, in Saxony. He came from a race of clergymen. The boy came of good stock and attempts to trace his final malady to hereditary predisposition are unconvincing. It is true the father died of brain trouble, but this was due to the concussion caused by a fall some four years after Friedrich's birth (28, I, p. 5). Shortly after the father's death Frau Nietzsche with her two children, Friedrich and Elizabeth, her mother-in-law, and an aunt of the children, removed to Naumburg, a town where pride in social rank was especially entrenched (28, I, p. 23). Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the family was careful to keep alive the tradition of their descent from a race of Polish counts, who, because of religious persecution, had sacrificed their all and come to Germany (28, I, p. 10 ff.). Nietzsche himself always made the most of this story, although his sister admits that the evidence which he collected in order to establish it is hardly convincing. The family was very religious undoubtedly, but that—as has been alleged—Nietzsche's subsequent violent antipathy to religion was due to too much piety in youth, I doubt. The boy was precocious, extremely conscientious, earnest, and proud, so that on being sent to the burgher school he felt so ill at ease that his mother transferred him to a private institution instead (28, I, pp. 27-31). Thence he was sent in due time to the famous Schulpforta (1858), (28, I, p. 100). At this time he was an excellent student, able, and industrious.

Even before entering Schulpforta Nietzsche had acquired certain characteristics that abode with him through life: fondness for the good form that one finds only in the best society, love of solitude, of poetry, and of music. As early as 1854 he composed a motet in honor

of his grandmother, and his first poetry also dates back to this time—his tenth year (28, I, pp. 38-75).

At Schulpforta his work was well received until he came to the *Obersecunda* when his great interest in music and literature caused him rather to neglect his other studies. It was at Pforta that he began to doubt the religion that had come down to him through several generations, a doubt that culminated in complete scepticism during his residence at Bonn University, which he entered in 1864. (28, I, pp. 199, 209.) He matriculated as a student of philology and theology but discontinued the latter subject with the close of his first semester. He was a very indifferent student during his year at Bonn, spending much time in attending concerts and theatres. Although he lacked all corps spirit Nietzsche joined a student society, but failing in his efforts to reform its mode of life, and disgusted with the clouds of tobacco smoke and the flow of beer that always accompanied a meeting, he was glad of an excuse to break with the club. This excuse was the departure of Ritschl, Nietzsche's chief instructor, for Leipsic. Nietzsche followed (1865), (28, I, pp. 223, 224, 228).

It was at Leipsic that Nietzsche happened one day to purchase in an antiquarian's shop, a copy of Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. A single reading sufficed. Schopenhauer had made a new convert, one who, though he subsequently broke with his master, never again escaped the latter's influence (28, I, p. 231).

In 1869, before Nietzsche had taken his degree and in spite of his youth—he was not yet twenty-five years of age—the authorities of the Swiss University at Basel, upon Ritschl's recommendation, appointed Nietzsche professor of classical philology. After the young man had accepted the nomination Leipsic at once accorded him his doctor's degree *honoris causa* (28, I, p. 293 f.). The appointment should never have been made. The high honors only served to quicken a pride that was already excessive, and the work necessitated Nietzsche's overexerting himself. His career began auspicuously, however, for not only was he well received, but at the end of his first year he was made ordinary (regular) professor with an increase of salary (28, II, p. 30).

Soon the Franco-Prussian war broke out in which Nietzsche took part as a volunteer nurse, his connection with a Swiss University forbidding his enlisting as a combatant. Unfortunately he speedily became seriously ill, was incapacitated for further service, and so re-

turned to his duties in Basel. It is a matter of regret that he forced himself to resume his lectures before he had completely recovered, for in January, 1871, he found himself under the necessity of seeking a leave of absence. He spent the winter in Italy in search of health. During this year appeared his first book, the *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* which, though warmly received by a small circle of friends, especially by the Wagnerians, met with a very chilling reception on the part of philologians generally. Young men who were leaving the gymnasia with the intent of taking up philology were warned against Basel, so that Nietzsche soon found himself with few or no students (28, II, pp. 28 f., 58 f., 63-97).

It was during these first years at Basel that Nietzsche's relations to Wagner, whom he had already met at Leipsic, became intimate. They met often. While Wagner doubtless respected Nietzsche for his talents and manifested genuine friendship, Nietzsche on his part fairly worshipped the great composer who like himself was a devoted Schopenhaurian. Expecting marvellous things, impossible things, Nietzsche, when the disillusionment came, turned from his one-time friend with a disgust which, though psychologically readily understood, was most unjust to Wagner. But of this more later.

Meanwhile, the *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* (1873-1876) and a few other books had made their appearance in spite of Nietzsche's ever-recurring illness, which necessitated his seeking another leave of absence in 1876. On his return his unfitness to continue regular work became more and more apparent so that in the spring of 1879 he found himself forced to resign. The resignation was accepted with a grant of an annual pension of three thousand francs (28, II, chap. 18).

Nietzsche suffered from digestive derangements, eye troubles, and violent headaches that for a week at a time made existence a burden to him. Gould in his *Biographic Clinics*, ascribes much of Nietzsche's illness to eye-strain (37, II, 301 f.). Möbius, on the other hand, says that Nietzsche's short-sightedness was not an active factor (69, p. 49).

Henceforward, with certain intermissions (especially 1882 to 1887, during which time there was considerable amelioration), Nietzsche was an almost constant sufferer. Whenever there was a pause in his illness he wrote feverishly thus hurrying on a new attack. To make his life bearable he resorted to drugs, especially chloral, that did their

share in further undermining his constitution (28, II, pp. 433, 896, 918). He bore his illness with remarkable fortitude. Nothing could keep him from working at his books. Indeed, the last years prior to the outbreak of his insanity were his most productive. Finally, in December of 1888, while in Turin, Nietzsche collapsed completely (28, II, p. 897). Because of the alarming nature of late letters received from Turin Professor Overbeck of Basel hastened thither only to find his friend abed and out of his mind (28, II, p. 921). He was afflicted with expansive mania. At first he thought he was the King of Italy; shortly after he imagined himself to be the Emperor Frederick; later it was the Tyrant of Turin, with still others to follow.

Möbius assures us that Nietzsche's malady was due to an exogenous disease (69, pp. 1, 28, 29). His evidence for it is not wholly convincing. Gould, himself a medical man, assures us that "Möbius's gratuitous assumption that syphilis was the cause of his collapse is without warrant and is contradicted by every fact of his life, character, and illness. It illustrates the tendency of ultra-science to become non-science and even nonsense" (37, II, p. 321). And Professor Kaftan of Berlin in a letter to Georg Friedrich Fuchs writes: "I can but say that I have never heard of any such excesses on the part of Nietzsche, and from my personal acquaintance with the man deem that they must be entirely ruled out" (33, p. 19).

Nietzsche's sister traces that malady which forced him to resign his professorship to his war experiences, and his final prostration to the excessive use of chloral and an unknown drug.[1]

It is a rather interesting question whether Nietzsche's warring ideas may not have played a part in bringing on his insanity, whether he could not have said, as does one of Byron's characters:

> "I *have* thought
> Too long and darkly, till my brain became,
> In its own eddy boiling and o'erwrought,
> A whirling gulf of phantasy and flame."[2]

[1] (28, II, pp. 45, 920). On page 918 of this volume she admits that in the winter 1882-1883 her brother confessed to her that while under the influence of chloral he wrote letters that later seemed to him to be entirely false. When she asked him whether such a condition might not influence his writings he assured her that on that very account he always scanned them closely after the effect of the drug had passed away.

[2] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto 3, VII.

Some seem inclined to this opinion. Kuno Francke, for instance, in his admirably sane and well-poised *History of German Literature*, says: "No wonder that Nietzsche himself in this whirlpool of conflicting emotions should have lost his own balance, that the night of insanity should have closed in upon him and extinguished even before his bodily death the lights of that exultant life which he loved so much (31, p. 560).

That a man's philosophy might possibly drive him mad Möbius (page 1) denies categorically. I suspect he has on his side the opinion of the majority of psychiatrists. It seems to me, however, that on the basis of common sense both alienists and laymen should be able to agree with Deussen when he remarks that nobody can say how far the germs of mental disease were dormant in Nietzsche, but if he had not deserted society, if he had not abandoned his profession, if he had settled down to a well-ordered wedded life, if he had allowed his powers to ripen gradually instead of forcing them in solitude, if he had abstained from the use of narcotics,—who knows but that humanly speaking, Nietzsche might have been among us to-day? (15, p. 98.)

Another open question is: In how far are Nietzsche's writings influenced by his mental insolvency? Nordau tries to show that Nietzsche's philosophy from first to last is nothing but the vaporing of a man bereft of reason (75, p. 415 ff.). Evidently, however, he finds his row hard to hoe, for he does not play fair when he leaves the impression that Nietzsche's books were written between periods of confinement in a lunatic asylum. Any one, who is at all familiar with the story of Nietzsche's life, knows that this is unqualifiedly untrue. Even Möbius did not go farther than to claim that he could point out in Nietzsche's writings the precise moment when insanity set in.[1] Höffding (49, p. 145) holds Möbius's view to be absolutely without foundation; yet let us grant for a moment that Möbius is right, what then? Would he not have to admit that all books issued previous to the time in question proceeded from a sound mind? He could scarcely escape that conclusion even if he chose, but he says frankly:

"If Nietzsche's earlier writings were submitted to a competent physician, ignorant of Nietzsche's later history, he would say: The author is not only a

[1] (69, p. 56). Möbius says that the first really suspicious passage is the close of the fourth book of *Gay Science*.

genial but also a very nervous man, yet of mental disorder in the ordinary sense of the word there is no trace, nor anything that permits the inference of later mental disease." (69, p. 51.)

Lichtenberger in his *La Philosophie de Nietzsche* (p. 83), warns us by saying:

"We must not, however, hasten to conclude from that, that the madness existed in Nietzsche in a latent state during all his life and that it influenced his whole work. It has been noised about, it is true, that Nietzsche was an inmate of sanitaria and 'that he wrote his works essentially between two sojourns in a lunatic hospital.' But this 'one says' has been vigorously denied as well by Nietzsche in the last year of his rational life, as by the persons of his *entourage*, whose evidence it will be difficult to reject in the absence of absolute proof. . . . It seems even, on the contrary, that the malady never provoked in him, even during the most violent attacks, any intellectual trouble. . . . This fact is affirmed a number of times by Nietzsche and is confirmed by his sister."

As opposed to Nordau, I think it is quite safe to hold that Nietzsche's earlier philosophy at least, should in no way be traced to his mental bankruptcy. On the other hand, I feel equally confident that few if any psychiatrists would endorse Lichtenberger's assertion that until the famous letter to Brandes (who, by the way, squarely opposes the view that all of Nietzsche's writings are tainted by insanity), (9, p. 225), there is no sign of mental disorder in Nietzsche's writings. I leave to the reader of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* whether a number of passages in that book do not bear a remarkable resemblance to those "peculiar, distorted terms of speech—senseless playing with syllables and words," characteristic of certain forms of mental disease (58, p. 24). I have in mind passages such as the following:

"Euer Eheschliessen: seht zu, dass es nicht ein schlechtes *Schliessen* sei! Ihr schlosset zu schnell: so *folgt* daraus—Ehebrechen!

Und besser noch Ehebrechen als Ehe-biegen, Ehe-lügen! . . . So sprach mir ein Weib: 'wohl brach ich die ehe, aber zuerst brach die ehe—mich!'" (73, VI, p, 307.)

Again, speaking of life Nietzsche says:

"Wer hasste dich nicht, dich grosse Binderin, Umwinderin, Versucherin, Sucherin, Finderin! Wer liebte dich nicht, dich unschuldige, ungeduldige, windseilige, kindsäugige Sünderin! (73, VI, 329.)

Read some of the songs in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, for instance that entitled, *Among Daughters of the Desert*, and the passage on

pages 313 and 314 of Tille's translation, and you can hardly escape drawing the conclusion that the author must be unbalanced.

In how far Nietzsche can be held responsible for the ideas he put into his later books it is impossible to say, at least at this time. His activity continued until he broke down in the streets of Turin, and although many passages in his later writings certainly suggest the aberration of the writer, nevertheless, I believe we need not regard him as wholly irresponsible until the shadows of night settled upon his mind never to be lifted again.

The remaining eleven years of his life Nietzsche, now a poor unfortunate who failed to recognize even his best friends, once the bitter enemy of any and all commiseration, lived through under the tender care, first of his mother, then of his sister. He died on the twenty-fifth of August, of the year 1900 (28, II, p. 932).

II. Is There a Nietzschean Philosophy?

Nietzsche's first book was published in 1871; his last was published in 1888, the year before his breakdown. In all, including those published since his death, there are fifteen volumes. Students of Nietzsche are now pretty well agreed in classifying these into three groups corresponding to three periods in his life. Whatever name is given to each division, I find that nearly all writers on Nietzsche would agree in considering his first period one of pessimism and his last one of optimism, the second being a sort of transition stage. According to this view it would be impossible, then, to find any single term that would express tolerably well what Nietzsche stands for in philosophy, and this because during his so-called third period he is said to occupy a position just the reverse of that which he held at the beginning of his career.

Now I have no quarrel with this attempt to mark out certain more or less clearly defined epochs in Nietzsche's life and writings; there is sufficient ground for such demarcation and it proves very helpful, almost indispensable. What I do object to is the view that Nietzsche's last period is optimistic. If "optimism is the view that the world is thoroughly good; or, that it is the best possible world," as Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* defines it, then, surely, the Nietzsche of the third period is not, as I hope to show, an optimist.

It is true the *Century Dictionary* defines the word in one place as "the doctrine that the universe advances on the whole, so as to be tending toward a state in the indefinite future different in its general character from that in the indefinite past," but observe the significant remark that immediately follows: "this is better called *evolutionism*." "Properly," says this same authority, optimism is "the metaphysical doctrine of Leibnitz that the existing universe is the best of all possible universes." Limiting the word to this sense, one is justified in denying its ever being applicable to Nietzsche. To the objection that the word has a much wider meaning than that to which I intend to restrict it, it will suffice to answer that, in the first place, I am limiting the term to a sense that has not only the sanction, but the preference, of our best lexicographical opinion; and in the second place that, even were this not the case one has the unquestioned right, especially in philosophy, to give a term almost any meaning one pleases provided one carefully defines one's terminology at the beginning and then adheres faithfully to it throughout. As Professor Wendell, of Harvard, would probably phrase it, all I purpose to do is to drop the connotation of the word while retaining its denotation.

As opposed to the assertion that Nietzsche was first a pessimist and later an optimist I feel that however the surface currents in Nietzsche's life may flow now here then there, towards every conceivable point of the compass, one can none the less see beneath the upper maelstrom of Nietzsche's aphorisms and dithyrambs, his æstheticism and his positivism, his evolutionism and his impossible doctrine of the eternal recurrence, an undercurrent that all unconsciously to the man himself flows constantly and unerringly in a never-varying direction. The nature of this undercurrent is, I think, best indicated by Hollitscher's happy phrase—"pessimistic idealism." Unless I am in error that is the only term which can at all adequately express Nietzsche's philosophy. He never was an optimist in the accepted meaning of the word, but from first to last an idealist indeed, but a pessimistic idealist.

Before proceeding it is necessary at this point to consider certain objections that have been raised against the idea that there is anything unitary in Nietzsche's philosophy. It is urged that his writings are a hopeless tangle of contradictions. Nordau in his characteristically vehement way claims that the pretended philosophy of Nietzsche is

nothing but a compilation of passages that agree more or less with each other (75, p. 420). This habit of Nietzsche to contradict himself all who have read him are familiar with. He himself admits in his *Zarathustra:* "My to-day refuteth my yesterday" (73, VIII, p. 52). This is justified in an earlier book by saying: "A serpent which is unable to strip off its skin will perish. So will all those intellects that are prevented from changing their opinion. They cease to be intellects."[1] And in his *Menschliches Allzumenschliches* we read: "That one changes his opinions is for some natures as much a requirement of cleanliness as that one changes his apparel" (73, III, p. 370). Earlier in the same work we find the following: "I maintain that there has not yet been a philosopher who eventually did not despise, or at least regard with suspicion, the philosophy he discovered in his youth" (73, II, p. 237).

We grant, then, without cavil that Nietzsche is often self-contradictory. We grant more. Not only does he contradict himself over and over again in his writings, but in his life he is constantly at odds with himself. The Nietzsche of the *Antichrist* is another than he of the *Birth of Tragedy*. Think also of his change of position as regards Schopenhauer and Wagner. Then, too, could one imagine a personality so dissevered as the Nietzsche whom his friends knew as a man of "fasst weiblichen Milde," gentle, and urbane; and the "blonde Bestie" who stalks proudly through his last books.

All this being granted I still feel that we are justified in claiming that there is, none the less, such a thing as a Nietzschean philosophy. Take the man's life with all its changes and self-refutations, is there not a clearly discernible *crescendo*, a consistent unitary evolution? We shall see, for example, that Nietzsche's backsliding from Schopenhauer was not a mere vagary, a mere whim, but his logical — logical in spite of himself — outgrowing of his Schopenhauerian pessimism. Nietzsche held certain fundamental ideas. It is these that we carry away with us when we rise from a study of his works and it is these that constitute his philosophy. If he was never a systematic philosopher neither, for that matter, was Plato whose shoe's latchet Nietzsche was never worthy to unloose. The fact is Nietzsche was opposed to sys-

[1]Nietzsche F.: *Dawn of Day*, Trans. by Johanna Volz. New York, Macmillan, 1903, p. 385.

tem making. "A systematizer is a philosopher," he says, "who will no longer permit his spirit to live, to spread mightily and insatiably like a tree; who absolutely knows no rest until he has carved out of himself something lifeless, something wooden, a four-cornered stupidity, a system" (28, II, p. 688).

But what as to these contradictions? From the first Nietzsche's mind was peculiarly organized. His orbit was eccentric. Knowing the mental make-up of the man, I really fail to see why we should not simply ignore passages that are manifestly out of harmony with his fundamental tone. We are not, it must be remembered, dealing with inexorable facts which if they conflict with theories, may never be ignored; we are dealing, instead, with the products of a highly gifted, but unusually eccentric mind. Considering the personality it seems to me that it is not unscientific to search his writings for those conceptions that were in truth his. In this way I hope to show that there is in reality a philosophy of Nietzsche, and that this philosophy is nothing more nor less than pessimistic idealism.

III. The First Period.

This might well be called Nietzsche's Schopenhauerian period. We have already seen how Nietzsche while at Leipsic became acquainted with Schopenhauer's philosophy, and how he straightway succumbed to the charm of this master pessimist. But why should he succumb? As we run over his life history to this date we find little apparent justification for such a surrender. Frau Förster-Nietzsche tells us her brother long mourned the loss of his father, but, surely, even she would not attribute Friedrich's pessimistic inclinations to this early loss. His educational advantages had been and were of the best, although it must be admitted that his training had been too much a one-sided emphasis of the classics. Standing well with his chief instructor his prospects were good. He never experienced the anxiety of the student who is financially hampered. Indeed, here we have the phenomenon of a young man, who to all appearances should be an ardent optimist, running headlong into the pessimistic camp. How can we account for this fact?

After all there is little that is genuinely mysterious about the matter. Because of the early death of his father Nietzsche lacked what

he himself calls, "the strict and masterful guidance of a masculine intellect" (28, I, p. 210). Growing up as he did in a family of women without ever feeling the strong, controlling hand of a father, Nietzsche developed a changeableness, a mutability, that accounts more or less for the sudden friendships and equally sudden ruptures so characteristic of him in later life.

Moreover, there is nothing quite so characteristic of Nietzsche as his over-weening pride,—the one thing that survived his mental collapse. Is it a far-fetched assumption to suppose that it played a part here? Certainly, here was a chance to shine among his friends as the discoverer of a new philosopher with his new philosophy, and we know that on going to Basel a little later, in 1869, his avowed purpose was to revivify philosophy, to stir its dry bones by introducing into it Schopenhauerian views.

Whatever value such considerations may have it should be easy to account for Nietzsche's admiration of Schopenhauer merely upon the basis of temperamental affinity. Rarely was any more *frappant*. It is impossible for a *Nietzsche-kenner* to read, for instance, the late Friedrich Paulsen's essay, *Arthur Schopenhauer: Seine Persönlichkeit und Seine Philosophie* (82), without being reminded at almost every turn of Nietzsche. Schopenhauer no less than Nietzsche felt the "pathos of distance." The egotism of one was scarcely less pronounced than that of the other. Both men wished to be unique, refusing to share the opinions of the herd. Both hankered after appreciation yet professed to despise it. Neither ever married while both expressed freely their contempt for women. Both take the same attitude toward life. When Schopenhauer declares that, "a happy life is impossible, the highest man can attain is a heroic life" (82, p. 42), he proves himself in so far a mere forerunner of Nietzsche. And so we might continue to point out resemblances by reminding the reader that both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche are born aristocrats; both detested the discipline of logic; and both were æstheticians—exalted and magnified the importance of literature, music, and culture.

In how far Nietzsche's ideas merely reflect those of his master nobody can say, but after every allowance is made the resemblance remains impressive. Considering then, by way of résumé, how Nietzsche resembled Schopenhauer in his egotism, his distaste for logic, his attitude towards life, his love of style, of music, of art, of culture in

general, and of caste; remembering further that his early enthusiasm for Schopenhauer and subsequent disagreement is nothing unusual in his career; and bearing in mind lastly, Nietzsche's personal peculiarities, there is really nothing strange in his sudden assumption of pessimistic views.

We are told that on coming to Basel Nietzsche stands wholly under the influence of Schopenhauer. If so, he believes with his master that the world which we know through sense-perception is not a something that exists *an sich*. It is nothing but a mental creation, a mere *Vorstellung*. This idea in turn is not original with Schopenhauer but is borrowed from Kant whose disciple Schopenhauer acknowledges himself to be (94, I, pp. xi, xxiv). Behind things as we hold them in consciousness, as they appear to be, is the *Ding an sich*, with an existence independent of any conception we may have of it. What then is this transcendental "thing"? Kant declares he does not know. Schopenhauer could not rest there. He embarks upon a search for the *Ding an sich* and eventually returns professing to have found it in—the "will." Consciousness is the product of the "will to live" which produces the whole world of phenomena—a world that is nothing but a shadow. Only the will with its manifestations is existent. In our conscious lives we have many experiences, pleasant and otherwise, but since the latter far predominate we get a world of untold misery. Hence the question: Is life worth living? It is not, answers Schopenhauer, with every emphasis. Life is a tragedy in which the scenes change but the play remains the same; there is not only no progress but there is no hope for progress. Hence Schopenhauer's pessimism.

There is, however, a striking difference between Schopenhauer and Nietzsche just at this point. Schopenhauer's pessimism induces him to fold his hands in despair with a world than which there possibly could be none worse. But Nietzsche never folds his hands. He is an idealist and as such, though his idealism is pessimistic, though he also believes that the world is as bad as it possibly could be, yet, while Schopenhauer despairs of all progress, Nietzsche hopes for better things in the future. As Riehl in his *Philosophie der Gegenwart* (87, p. 321), admirably points out, Nietzsche admits all that pessimism claims only he draws a widely different conclusion. For him, too, the present is as bad as any pessimist could wish but there is a brilliant *Jenseits*. Hence his advocacy of a bitter, fearless, ceaseless struggle

against the adversities of life. As he himself puts it, the question is: "Is pessimism necessarily a sign of degeneration? . . . Is there a pessimism of strength, . . . a courage that demands a worthy enemy against which it can prove its vigor?" (73, I, p. 2.)

In the preface written by Nietzsche in August of 1886, for a new edition of his *Birth of Tragedy*, occurs an illuminating passage in which he quotes Schopenhauer as saying that the tragic spirit seeks resignation. But Nietzsche will have none of it. So again in his essay on history in speaking of "der Thätige "Nietzsche says: "He flees from resignation and uses history as a means against resignation" (73, I, p. 295).

So while Schopenhauer is passive Nietzsche is active; and in his earlier days at least, activity for Nietzsche means æsthetic creation. This is set forth in his first book on *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, with the sub-title *Griechentum und Pessimismus*, published in 1872. That Nietzsche with his enthusiasm for the Greeks, especially the early Greeks, and his training in the classics should write his first book on some theme related to Greek culture was only to be expected; but that a young philologian should come forward with such a book could not but cause a sensation. As the title indicates the book treats of the birth of tragedy which, according to Nietzsche, originated with the Greeks. He defines tragic art as the "Kunst der Schmerzensfreude." How is it possible that a young and happy race like the Greeks should discover tragedy? To account for this Nietzsche professes to find in the æsthetic world two underlying principles: the plastic and pictorial or Apollinic art, and the musical or Dionysian art. The Apollinic artist lives in a world of dreams, an enchanted land, a land of visions. "The painter, the sculptor, the epic writer are seers *par excellence*,' yet all the time well aware that their world is one of appearance (73, I, pp. 19-23). That which we can handle, touch, and see; that which has recognizable shape and is set off from other things, all that which appeals to the understanding is of Apollo's realm.

Distinct from this is Nietzsche's Dionysian principle which expresses but does not explain, which is vague rather than clear, which appeals to the emotions rather than to the intellect. It is the principle of intoxication comparable to that caused by the use of fermented liquors. It manifests itself in music, especially in music accompanied

by dancing as we find the two combined in the ancient chorus. "To a certain extent," Nietzsche says, "all rhythm still speaks to our muscles." On this point he would, I think, agree with Pascal—whom he otherwise dislikes—when that Frenchman writes: "Notre Nature est dans le mouvement; le repos entier est la mort" (79, II, p. 48). Under the influence of this Dionysian intoxication man unites with man and the world harmony is restored. Nietzsche thus exalts music to a place similar to that assigned to it by Schopenhauer who sees in it a revelation of the will of the world (73, I, pp. 112, 113).

The Dionysian principle originated in Asia; the Apollinic in Greece. Eventually the two came into conflict, first one, then the other proving the victor, until the struggle ended in a mysterious union out of which was born Attic tragedy in the form of the tragic chorus. Greek tragedy, then, is the Dionysian chorus that loses itself in an Apollinic world of dreams (73, I, pp. 19, 26, 27, 61).

Unfortunately for Greek tragedy, Euripides introduces the critical element, thus sowing the seeds of degeneration (73, I, p. 77 ff.). Yet it is not Euripides who is so much to blame, but Socrates who comes forward with the doctrine that knowledge is virtue. It was Socrates who with no sense for the mystical could not comprehend the Dionysian spirit, and so originated the critical man. Euripides, following suit, comes to say something like this: "To be beautiful a thing must be comprehensible" (73, I, p. 85 ff.). This whole doctrine means nothing less than that if knowledge is virtue all man needs to do in order to escape his tragic environment is to increase his knowledge. What is this but optimism, and on an optimistic view of the world no tragedy can flourish. Socrates and Euripides, particularly the former, destroyed Greek tragedy. Hence Nietzsche's repeated virulent attacks upon the old Greek. "Everything about Socrates is false; his conceptions are neither fixed nor weighty" (73, X, p. 103).

Nietzsche's greatest objection to Socrates seems to be his humble origin. He has the "cunning of the plebeian" (73, VII, p. 121). "Socrates belongs by descent to the lowest class of people: Socrates was of the rabble" (73, VIII, p. 69). "With Socrates Greek tragedy turns in favor of dialectic: what is it that actually takes place? Primarily it is the conquest of a distinguished taste; with dialectic the mob comes to the surface" (74, XI, p. 108). That word "Pöbel" (mob) appears again and again. We have the quintessence of

Nietzsche's detestation of all that is Socratic expressed in the phrase: "Es riecht nach dem Pöbel" (73, VII, p. 120).

Modern culture is essentially Socratic, therefore optimistic, and hence unfavorable to the new birth of tragedy. However, and here, though Nietzsche was never more avowedly pessimistic than in his first period, we see clearly how he differed at the very start from Schopenhauer who, I feel sure, would have rested here. Not so Nietzsche. With typical idealism he points out that it was Kant and Schopenhauer, Germany's greatest philosophers, who once again set limits to human knowledge, thus making possible the overthrow of our Socratic, superficial, optimistic culture, in order that we may witness the so longed for "Wiedergeburt der Tragödie" (73, I, pp. 126, 128). Who is to bring about this final climax? Richard Wagner, the greatest Dionysian of the age.

Such is Nietzsche's first book.

There is one other volume belonging to this period, his *Inopportune Reflections* (*Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*), consisting of four essays, the first two of a negative, the remaining two of a positive character. In *David Strauss, der Bekenner und Schriftsteller* (1873), Nietzsche attacks what he calls the *Bildungsphilister* (philistine of culture), whose spirit he finds incarnated in Strauss. "As yet," he asserts, "there is no original German culture." The Germans, particularly since the war with France, think the Fatherland is the home of culture, but Nietzsche finds not a trace of it—not a trace. What the Germans call culture, he adds, is nothing but a "phlegmatic lack of feeling for culture" (73, I, pp. 179-185). "Culture," says he, "is above all the unity of artistic style in all the manifestations of the life of a people," and this unity does not exist (73, I, p. 183). "Have you," he asks, speaking to Germany at a time when in science and literature it stands second to no nation upon the globe, "have you even one intellect to whom you can point as having weight in Europe?" (74, XI, p. 156.) Nothing does Nietzsche see but a widespread worship of all that is mediocre. Against this spirit he wants to do battle.

In his essay, *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben* (1874), Nietzsche discusses the educational value of history. He does not, as some writers imply, deny that history has an educational value; on the contrary, he says explicitly: "That life needs

the service of history must be understood as clearly as the proposition, to be demonstrated later—that too much history is injurious to the living." The point he tries to make is that too much history is taught and that not rightly. Most history teaching and history study is injurious. But why? The fault lies in part with us for, "only strong personalities can stand history—the weak it simply extinguishes;" in part with teachers who force overmuch history upon their pupils. Nietzsche recognizes three kinds of history: monumental, antiquarian, and critical. Which of these three is to be taught a people depends upon its character, its aims, and its necessities, only never is the subject to be taught to satisfy mere curiosity (73, I, pp. 294-324). History should stand in the service of life, and should be written only by superior men, men with a knowledge of life.

All this has been lost sight of. At present history teaching checks natural development by keeping the race bound down by precedent. Especially do we see the evil results in the training of our youth whose instincts it uproots. We must begin by forgetting the past so that we may have free, spontaneous development (73, I, pp. 279, 307, 337-379).

We might attribute Nietzsche's attitude towards history to the influence of Schopenhauer who asserts that history never can lead to anything more than mere *Wissen*, never to a *Wissenschaft*, because there is, according to him, no system—the touchstone of science—in history (94, II, Chap. 38), but even in a later period Nietzsche could speak very disparagingly of history as, for example, in his *Dawn of Day* (p. 260).

Frankly pessimistic as this essay is there is the implied hope that better things may be looked for with a reform of history teaching.

Nietzsche's third *Inopportune Reflection* is his *Schopenhauer als Erzieher* (1874), a monument erected in honor of his great teacher whom he calls his "liberator on the way to himself." To him Schopenhauer was a kindred nature whom he trusted implicitly, and whose manliness and rugged honesty he lauds constantly (73, I, pp. 309-402, 471). He "was subject unto none," is Nietzsche's highest praise (74, X, p. 247). Schopenhauer saw beyond the present. Who is capable of elevating mankind? There are three types: Rousseau, Goethe, and Schopenhauer, and the greatest of these is Scho-

penhauer—the heroic, willing to shoulder the sufferings of the true, willing to rob men of all that is false. How far in this respect does he rank above the German philosophers of to-day? "In part," says Nietzsche, "this is connected with the fact that at present chairs are filled by a feeble generation; and Schopenhauer now would not, if he had to write his dissertation on university philosophy, need a club, but would gain the victory with a bulrush." "Es sind," he continues in inimitable and well-nigh untranslatable German, "die Erben und Nachkommen jener Afterdenker denen er auf die vielverdrehten Köpfe Schlug" (73, I, pp. 424, 483). Schopenhauer reveals the meaning of life and culture; teaches men to break with petty individual prejudices, and holds up as an ideal not happiness but a higher conception of culture. As Dolson says: "The entire essay is written in such a spirit of enthsiasm that the reader is lead almost involuntarily to feel that Schopenhauer is one of the greatest names in the history of philosophy" (18, p. 421).

The fourth and last *Inopportune Reflection* is *Richard Wagner in Bayreuth* (1876).[1] Just as the third *Inopportune* glorifies Schopenhauer so the fourth exalts Wagner as the highest realization of the Schopenhauerian in the field of art. Wagner seems to Nietzsche a volcanic outburst of all that is latent in art. Wagner's art demonstrates that nature inwardly is much richer, much more powerful, more happy, more awe-inspiring than timid humanity suspects (73, I, p. 536). He voices a side of nature that hitherto has been silent. Wagner's project in Bayreuth is the first circumnavigation of the world of art. It seems that not only a new art but art itself has been discovered. To attain his final purpose the great composer sacrifices all else. He is poet, philosopher, philologian, musician, historian, æsthetician, a *Gegen-Alexander*, who is to Hellenize an orientalized world. He harmonizes music and life, since his music is a return to nature (73, I, p. 500). He combines the Dionysian with the Apollinic. All previous music measured with Wagner's seems stiff, or as if one dare not see it from all sides. He is a revolutionizer of society. He has endeavored to burden himself with the weightiest laws as unremittingly as others seek relief from their burden. He has

[1] Lichtenberger speaks of "this celebrated brochure," as being "one of the most important works of the Wagnerian literature (64, p. 466).

revived the real German language. He is comparable to Demosthenes like whom he is both the last and the highest representative of a line of mighty artists. All of which means that Wagner is the poet and musician not so much of to-day as of to-morrow (73, I, pp. 548, 570, 571, 583).

Early in the year 1872 Nietzsche delivered a series of lectures entitled, *Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten.* These are highly characteristic yet are completely ignored by many commentators on Nietzsche. It is for this reason and because of their interest from a pedagogical point of view that I have deemed them worthy of special treatment. Since my interpretation and criticism of these lectures can be found elsewhere—see bibliography—I shall not consider them here.

So much for the writings of Nietzsche's first period. What effect does such a glimpse at their contents leave upon one's mind? First of all we are struck by the immense *rôle* culture interests at this time play in Nietzsche's thought. His *Birth of Tragedy*, each one of the *Inopportune Reflections* and his *Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten* centre about that. "Only," he says himself, "as æsthetic phenomena are existence and the world eternally justified." (73, I, p. 45.) Next, we cannot but be impressed by the over-shadowing influence of Schopenhauer and, to a less extent, of Wagner. Finally, it matters not whether it be the future of music or of history, whether it be the influence of Schopenhauer or of Wagner, or whether it be to lift a lance against the *Bildungsphilister*, in every instance we are struck by one characteristic that eventually must lead Nietzsche from that master whom he now worships—his idealism.

IV. The Second Period.[1]

We now come face to face with a problem that seems to defy solution. I have already spoken once or twice of Nietzsche's liability to sudden changes due unquestionably to his nervous susceptibility to every stimulus. Now he drifts with the current, a moment later he

[1] This period is primarily that of the days of *Menschliches Allzumenschliches* The *Dawn of Day* and *Gay Science* belong in part to this and in part to the last period.

struggles mightily against it. The slightest disharmony causes him to overthrow to-day what he but yesterday raised to the heavens. Nietzsche could not think as others do. *Stimmungsphilosoph* Tankscher calls him very properly (102, p. 22). Nietzsche is a man of moods, exhausts one mood to-day and then, finding himself in another to-morrow, upsets all that has gone before (see also 105, pp. 515, 516).

Lichtenberger (63, p. 6) tells us that Nietzsche reminds him of Ibsen's Brand who through good report and ill report faithfully adheres to his fiery device, *Tout ou rien*. That is it. With Nietzsche it is all or nothing but neither too long at a time. We need hardly hesitate to apply to him words by means of which he meant to disparage another. "To-morrow," says Nietzsche, "he hath a new belief, and the day after to-morrow a still newer. . . . To overthrow—that meaneth for him: to prove. To drive mad—that meaneth for him: to convince. . . . Verily, he believeth in gods that make a great noise in the word" (74, VIII, p. 67).

"Not the strength," says he in one of his posthumous writings, "but the duration of high sentiment makes noble spirits" (73, XII, p. 94). If we judge the man by his own test he can never stand.

As we have seen, Nietzsche's last *Inopportune Reflection*, that in which he glorified Wagner and his art, appeared in 1876. This was shortly before the opera season opened in Bayreuth whither Nietzsche journeyed with much apparent enthusiasm. Once there he soon became melancholy, and after a few days left Bayreuth, "profondément désenchanté, las et triste jusqu'à la mort" (63, p. 69), fully resolved to enter it nevermore. What had happened? Wagner and Frau Cosima maintained a profound and dignified silence regarding the affair, and such explanation as Nietzsche offered is no explanation. His later statement that Wagner's sudden collapse before the cross of Christ was so exceedingly distasteful to him (73, III, p. 6), accounts for nothing since Parsifal, to which he evidently refers, did not exist at the time, neither in words nor in music. Even had it existed only a very superficial reader could see in it a return on the part of Wagner to Christianity. Parsifal has nothing but the thinnest veneer of Christianity. It is essentially Buddhistic. The *Erlösung* in Parsifal is *Selbsterlösung*.

Nobody holds the astronomer responsible for the behavior of a comet whose orbit is unknown. For the same reason, once having established Nietzsche's eccentricity one is justified in refusing to consider one's

self in duty bound to explain all he may do or fail to do. Nevertheless, unless I underestimate the difficulty of the problem it is rather easily solved. Mauerhof (67, p. 317 ff.), suspects that Nietzsche until the Bayreuth visit entertained hopes of becoming, so to speak, Wagner's successor in the world of music. He asserts that at about this time Nietzsche busied himself considerably with that art. With such plans fermenting in his mind he goes to Bayreuth where, shortly after his arrival, it dawns upon him that his hopes can never be realized. The rest follows. One may admire Mauerhof for being able to hatch out such an ingenious theory—but surely he does not expect us to accept it. It is much too far-fetched. Permit me, then, to submit my own attempt at a solution.

Nietzsche's sister informs us that her brother had neither seen Wagner for two years nor heard his music for four years (28, II, pp. 236, 260). During these years, she would have us understand, her brother gradually grew away from Wagner so that the sudden rupture was more apparent than real (28, II, Chap. XIV). Mauerhof (67, p. 317) scoffs at this but unless he can prove Frau Förster-Nietzsche guilty of falsification, it seems to me she amply bears out her assertion by quotations from letters and other papers of the period. One thing that stands out with particular boldness is that Nietzsche was losing patience with Wagner's self-centeredness (28, Chap. XIV). And here we should not forget that if Nietzsche eventually crossed the line that separates genius from insanity Wagner came perilously near doing so. The two men had so much in common that one need be neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet to predict that their great friendship could never endure. Nietzsche's private papers show moreover, that he at times was not free from qualms as to the ultra-superlativeness of Wagner's art (28, II, Chap. XIV, and 73, X, pp. 397-412). We also know that Nietzsche believed that good work was being done by such composers as Brahms and Mendelssohn, although he was careful not to wound Wagner's pride by telling him so (28, II, pp. 179, 204). Yet I believe that at this time Nietzsche still looked upon Wagner as by all odds the greatest musician of the day, and so when at last the Bayreuth enterprise proved to come to a head he sat down to write his last *Inopportune Reflection*. As he wrote he worked himself, as he invariably did, into a fever-heat of enthusiasm, buried all his doubts and misgivings and gave to the world his *Richard Wagner*

in Bayreuth. While in this condition he hastens to the festival under the delusion that he is to see impossible things. Instead he sees that for which he always cherished a whole-souled contempt—a crowd, but what he had come to see he fails to find.[1] Keenly disappointed with the productions Nietzsche with characteristic revulsion forgets the past, forgets all propriety, and empties his vials of wrath and invective upon the head of one whose sole misdemeanor is that instead of being what Nietzsche had only just declared him to be—a quasi-divinity, he is after all but a mere man.

Knowing what we do of Nietzsche's psyche I leave it to the reader whether this explanation does not account adequately for the facts involved.

The chasm that opened between the two men was never bridged. Later in *The Case of Wagner* and *Nietzsche contra Wagner* Nietzsche gives vent to his pent-up emotions. "Wagner," says he, "was complete; but he was complete corruption." He "makes people morbid" (73, XI, pp. 50, 56), Nietzsche adds, and he "belongs only to my maladies" (74, XI, p. 2).

With fine sarcasm Nietzsche gives him credit for being "a scenic artist *par excellence*" and for having "*immeasurably increased the speaking power of music;* he is the Victor Hugo of music as language. Provided always one grants that music *may*, under certain conditions, not be music, but speech, tool, or *ancilla dramaturgica.* Wagner's music *not* taken under protection by theatrical taste, a very tolerant taste, is simply bad music, perhaps the worst that has ever been made" (74, XI, p. 29). Probably most telling of all, from Nietzsche's standpoint, is the accusation that Wagner "gained the multitude" (74, XI, pp. 16, 45). "That resistance which he encountered among us Germans," Nietzsche further informs us, "cannot be estimated highly enough, nor sufficiently honored. We defended ourselves against him as against a disease *not* with arguments, one does not refute a disease, but with obstruction, with mistrust, with aversion, with loathing, with a sullen seriousness, as if a great danger prowled around" (74, XI, pp. 18, 42).

[1] 28, II, p, 251. In 73, XI, p. 126, Nietzsche says: "My error was that I came to Bayreuth with an ideal, and so I had to experience the most bitter disillusion." Is it not possible, too, that Wagner's nervous music was no longer adapted to the now neurasthenic Nietzsche?

Can this be the Nietzsche who sang:

"Hail thou, Friendship!
Earliest red of morning
Of my highest longing!
Endless often
Seemed the path, the night, to me;
And all life
Hateful, without aim!
Now will I live doubly,
That in thine eyes I have beheld
Victory and dawn
Thou dearest Goddess!" (74, XI, p. 253.)

It is only another instance of the complexity of Nietzsche's character. He was a man who could only make a friend to lose him.

But, some one might urge, what has this to do with the philosophy of Nietzsche? It has everything to do with it. There is but one justification for devoting so much space to a single occurrence in Nietzsche's life, and that is this: the rupture with Wagner exerted a powerful and lasting influence upon Nietzsche's further career. The catastrophe, as we may well call it, shook him to the very foundations. He had deceived himself in—Wagner! After all, he may have asked himself, is not my whole view of life one big error? Am I right in fancying that culture and art are basal in life? Was not Socrates whom I have so reviled nearer the truth than I myself? Is not the critical man a greater man than he who is swayed by his emotions? If knowledge is not virtue, is culture? Or does knowledge transcend virtue?

Questions such as these must have swept through Nietzsche's mind for when we next hear from him in his *Menschliches Allzumenschliches* (1878), by whatever alchemy transformed, he is no longer the Nietzsche of the first period, but Nietzsche the positivist, the intellectualist, the *Aufklärungsphilosoph*.[1] "Lonely now and exceedingly mistrustful of myself I took," he confesses, "not without wrath, sides *against* myself and *for everything* that pained *me* and that was hard for *me*" (73, III, p. 8). He is seized by a consuming passion for knowledge.

[1] It is true that Nietzsche's positivistic tendencies can be traced back in his private papers into his first period, but they certainly received a most decided impetus as a result of the trouble with Wagner.

With the overpowering but momentary singleness of purpose that we have learned to expect from him he now finds himself profoundly interested only in the intellectual.

During his first period nothing so aroused his antipathies as Socrates aud Socraticism but now, although he cannot forgive Socrates for being of the people, he assures us there is a time coming "when one will prefer to take in hand the *Memorabilia* of Socrates rather than the Bible" (73, III, p. 248). We have not forgotten how Nietzsche's ire was particularly aroused by the Socratic dictum, "Knowledge is virtue;" yet now he tells us: "Socrates and Plato are right; whatever man does he ever does the right, *i. e.*, that which seems good (useful) to him according to his degree of intellectuality" (73, II, p. 46).

Again, during his first period Nietzsche did not deny his pessimism. Now he says: "Away with the words optimism and pessimism that have been used to the point of disgust . . . None but babblers find them indispensable."

Yet let us see what his attitude really is when it comes to fundamental things. In the very first aphorism belonging to this time Nietzsche says: "Enough, I still live; and life is not the product of moral thought: it wants to be deceived, it lives on delusion" (73, II, p. 5). We perceive at once that the atmosphere has changed. Should we doubt this, the further statement: "There is probability, but no truth" (73, II, p. 190) puts an end to all uncertainty. Our world is nothing but a mass of errors that gradually arose in the process of development, has become part and parcel of us, and now is necessary to our existence. All that we know is based upon error. Were absolute truth revealed to us it would spell our destruction. "Error has made man so deep, tender, inventive. . . . He who revealed unto us the essence of things would prepare for all of us the most disagreeable disappointment. Not the world as a 'Ding an sich,' but the world as 'Vorstellung' (an error) is so full of meaning" (73, II, p. 47). In the words of Voltaire whom Nietzsche quotes: "Croyez-moi, mon ami, l'erreur aussi a son mérite" (73, III, p. 16).

"Can we not turn about all values?" Nietzsche asks foreshadowing a position that he is soon to hold. "Is good possibly evil? And God merely a device and art of the devil? Is everything probably at the last analysis false?" (73, II, p. 8.) No wonder then that he

later adds: "We shall not permit ourselves to be burned for our beliefs; we are not sure enough of them" (73, II, p. 367). No wonder either that he raises the question, "Why do most of us speak the truth?" Why, indeed? "Solely because it is easier. One lie involves another and this callsfor much mental effort to avoid detection" (73, II, p. 57).

Coming to religion he writes:

> "How gladly one would exchange the false assertions of the *homines religiosi:* there is a God who demands of us what is good, who watches and witnesses every act, every moment, every thought, who loves us, in every mishap desires our welfare,—how gladly one would exchange these for truths equally benign, soothing, and beneficent as those errors! But such truths there are none."

There is no proof for the claims of Christianity hence it has no right to exist. "It is in the last analysis barbaric, Asiatic, ignoble, and non-Greek" (73, II, pp. 116, 118, 128). The feeling fostered by Christianity that one needs redemption from sin is based on a false psychology. Man is conscious of certain actions that, judged by prevailing standards of morality, are wrong. Comparing himself with the divine he sees himself in a bad light. He becomes afraid. A feeling of dissatisfaction arises that is complicated with a fear of future punishment. When incidentally this whole condition of dissatisfaction passes away from the soul and man loves his life again, then this appears to him so unbelievable that he can interpret it only as a ray of undeserved mercy coming from on high; this occurrence strikes him as one full of love and he regards it as a token of divine goodness (73, II, p. 135 ff.).

As one reads this passage one's thoughts revert inevitably to Lucretius who long ago wrote in his *De Rerum Natura:*

> "And now the cause that through wide nations spread
> Belief in gods and all divinities,
> With altars filled cities and towns, and 'stablished rites
> That flourish yet in many a sacred place,
> 'T is easy to explain; for even now,
> The same deep-seated fear in hearts of men,
> Raises new shrines to gods throughout the earth,
> Impelling them to keep their festive days."[1]

[1] Bk. V, trans. by C. F. Johnson. N. Y., Lent & Co., 1872, p. 243.

Nietzsche's conclusion is that Christianity is wholesome for degenerated *Culturvölker*, but for a young race such as the Teutons were, for example, it is a positive poison with its doctrines of sin and damnation (73, III, pp. 122, 123).

We have, then, nothing to hope for from religion. How as to philosophy? The crushing answer comes: "Philosophy at best can furnish you metaphysical appearances (fundamentally equally untrue)." And as for morals, our whole system of ethics is at fault. We must begin all over again by looking upon morals as a problem that demands solution. You say nobody yet has dared to undertake a critique of moral values? Very well, answers Nietzsche, then this is my work. I, Nietzsche, shall do it (73, V, pp. 276-278).

He begins by distinguishing a threefold evolution of morals. The token that the animal has become man is that the utilitarian principle comes into play; the next step comes with the introduction of the idea of honor; finally man begins to decide that certain actions are good, others bad (73, II, p. 95). This idea of good and evil has a double root in history. He who rewards good with good, evil with evil, is called good. He who is a weakling and cannot be both grateful and revengeful is called bad. Good and bad are for sometime identical with distinguished and lowly, master and slave. Not he who works injury but he who is despicable passes as bad. The motive at first is no factor (73, II, p. 68). In another place he says that originally an action was denominated good or bad according to its effect upon a community. Soon this origin is forgotten and people imagine that actions as such, independent of their consequences, possess good or evil qualities, mistaking effect for cause. The terms "good" and "bad" are thus transferred to the motives and finally to the whole nature of man. In this manner we are made responsible first for the result of our actions, then for our actions, then for our motives, and finally for our nature. Ultimately we discover that our nature cannot be responsible since it also is the necessary result of other factors so that in reality man can be held responsible for nothing (73, II, p. 63). The history of moral values is the history of the error of responsibility which is based upon the pernicious doctrine of the freedom of the will, "an invention of the ruling classes" (73, III, p. 196). Because this doctrine has rooted itself in our very inmost being we believe that he who molests us is evil for had he not wished he need not have in-

jured us (73, II, p. 100). Why should we call the man who injures us immoral? We do not accuse Nature of being immoral when it hurts us, nor even do we bear an animal who wounds us malice. It is because of all things and creatures we hold that only man has the freedom to choose between two alternatives. But this distinction is wrong, and, since it is wrong, it is permissible to injure others only for the purpose of self-preservation—for punishment never (73, II, pp. 101, 104). What right have we to punish a man for breaking the law? "He had to act as he did; were we to punish him we should punish eternal necessity" (73, III, p. 212). He who is punished deserves it not: he is solely the means of warning against similar actions; likewise he who is rewarded has no merits: he could not have acted otherwise. Painful as the thought may be there is no longer a place in the world for praise or for blame. "There is no difference between good and evil action; at most a difference of degree. Good actions are sublimated evil actions; evil actions coarsened and dulled good actions (73, II, pp. 108, 110).

It is as if we hear one of the old sophists or Heraclitus himself, for whom Nietzsche professes unbounded admiration. Heraclitus too speaks of evil as being a relative good and good a relative evil.

But to continue with Nietzsche: we call those good who do what is moral, seek revenge, for instance, when that belongs to good morals as it did among the Greeks. To do bad is to do what is immoral among a certain particular people. Not only does the content of the terms "good" and "bad" vary among different peoples but it varies with the several gradations of society within the limits of a single nation. Suppose, for example, that a rich man robs a poor man, say a sovereign takes from a plebeian one whom he loves. The poor man thinks his master must be very vicious to rob him of the little he has; but in thinking thus he certainly does his superior grave injustice, for, the latter being accustomed to many things does not realize the value of a single thing to a poor man. Hence the sovereign does his subject by no means so great an injustice as the latter thinks (73, II, pp. 87, 89). Is it virtue when one cell is absorbed by another cell? It can't help itself. Is it wrong when a stronger cell assimilates the weaker? It can't help itself either (73, V, p. 157).

So, then, "nobody is responsible for his actions, nobody is re-

sponsible for his nature. To judge is to be unjust. This is true even of the individual judging himself" (73, II, p. 65).

When a person is actuated by comparatively few motives, good or evil as they may be called, and combines with these energetic action and a good conscience, he develops strength of character. Under a given set of circumstances he sees but a few possible modes of action and so can decide much more easily than one who sees fifty alternatives. Compared with these strong but "bound spirits" (gebundene Geister) the "free spirit" (Freigeist) is weak, especially so in action.

This being so, continues Nietzsche, how can the *Freigeist* be made strong as well as free? By confining him; in his efforts to liberate himself he becomes a perfectly free spirit, *i. e.*, a genius, just as an energetic man who is lost in the woods is apt to discover a way out never known before. Therefore, abuse men, maltreat them, incite them against each other, provoke wars (73, II, p. 216 ff.). It is all nonsense to expect much of a race when it once begins to forget how to conduct a war. Nothing so arouses a people out of its torpidity, so organizes the destructive passions, makes a nation so indifferent to great losses, and imparts so bitter an impersonal hatred. Europe needs not only a war but the greatest and most frightful of wars, one that results in a temporary reversion to barbarism; failing this, it is doomed to lose its culture, doomed to lose its very existence (73, II, p. 355; see also III, p. 295).

What a change in Nietzsche since culture and art monopolized his attention. Yet there is no regret for the past. "One must have loved religion and art as one loves mother and nurse—otherwise one cannot become wise. But one must see beyond them, be able to outgrow them" (73, II, pp. 211, 212). Just as one in old age loves to dwell on the pleasures of youth, so man's relation to art will soon be but a touching memory. Probably art was never so profoundly and soulfully conceived as to-day when the magic of death plays about it. Soon the artist will be looked upon as a glorious relic to whom we grant honors as to few others because he is a wonderful stranger, come down to us from a past whose strength and beauty depended upon him. The artist ever was and will be youthful. To keep the youthful, even child-like element alive in mankind is the artist's privilege and duty. He can do this because he has been checked in his development while engaged in childhood's play, and because in

addition his training has carried him back to ancient times when the race was in its adolescent stage (73, II, pp. 159, 166, 207). Hence, while "the scientific man is the further development of the artist," and in so far ranks above him, it is the artist who has carried us to a point where we can say: "However it may be, life, it is good" (73, II, pp. 206, 207).

Just as science is an advance upon art so art is an advance upon religion on which it is founded. When religion breaks down before intellectualism the feelings that otherwise exhaust themselves in religion now relieve themselves in art. Music Nietzsche mentions particularly as owing much to religion (73, II, pp. 160, 200).

This is the period of which Riehl says that he likes it much the best of the three (88, p. 58). As opposed to Riehl I must confess that I much prefer the *Birth of Tragedy* and the *Inopportune Reflections* to the *Menschliches Allzumenschliches*. During his transition stage Nietzsche got rid of his romanticism, it is true, but what does he offer instead? An intellectualism that has little but hard words for religion in general and Christianity in particular, for the culture of his day, and for the moral order of the universe. He has learned to magnify the significance of science above all other things and then tells us that the very thing which science so eagerly seeks, namely Truth, has no existence at all. Moreover, while Nietzsche was a pessimist from the very beginning, he was fully aware of it at first but now, though to my mind he is as pessimistic as ever, if not more so, he flatters himself he has outgrown his early weakness. When we recall the ideas Nietzsche held during this stage in his career as set forth—largely in his own words—in the preceding pages, his pessimism seems to me undeniable. Could you conjure up a world much worse than that pictured in Nietzsche's, *Menschliches Allzumenschliches*, a world whose inhabitants should be in constant, brutal warfare with each other; a world that offers not the slightest incentive for virtuous conduct because the bad are no worse than the good, the good no better than the bad, all are what the fates make of them, "all is inevitable—so says the new knowledge: and this knowledge itself is inevitable" (73, II, p. 111); a world whose art is in the throes of death; a world not one of whose religions contains a grain of truth, for, to cap the climax, that which all men seek, namely

truth itself, has no existence—those who think they have found it merely deceive themselves.

What would be passing strange had we not become familiar with Nietzsehe's temperament and character is that this pessimism combines itself with idealism. He urges, for instance:

"Never regret anything. That would be adding a second stupidity to a first. If one has done wrong think of something good to do. If one is punished because of some wrong done, bear the punishment with the knowledge that one is doing good by frightening others from a similar deed. Every criminal undergoing punishment is justified in considering himself a benefactor of mankind" (73 III, p. 364).

If that is not idealism make the most of it.

Yet it seems to me that Nietzsche's idealism is now hardly so pronounced as during the days of the *Birth of Tragedy*. It is, however, none the less existent. He has merely transferred his affections from culture and art to science. Whereas he once worshipped Schopenhauer he now busies himself with the English positivistic school and with the writings of La Rochefoucauld. Pessimistic idealist Nietzsche is still though hardly as emphatically so as during his first period and that which is next to follow.

V. The Third Period.

There is little in the history of thought that is more interesting than to see how one man's idea is seized upon by another and carried to a length which the originator never dreamed of and might have resented. Take Fichte's *selbstherrliches ich*—it is nothing but a development of certain Kantian ideas. For Fichte the ego is everything. Hence Novalis, whose philosophy is said to be a combination "of the transcendentalism of Fichte with the pantheism of Schelling," and who might well be called the poet of subjective idealism, Novalis defines philosophy as "homesickness, a yearning to be at home in the All" (31, p. 422). You see what a close relative such philosophy is to the Buddhistic teachings of *Nirvana*. For Fichte, then, finite man as opposed to God is merely a limitation of the ego—a non-ego. Feuerbach in his *Das Wesen des Christenthums* goes far toward reversing this idea. Instead of being the unlimited, God, for Feuerbach,

is nothing but the incarnation of man's ideals, which ideals have existence outside of him and are there precisely as binding. Man now is central not God. Christianity, says Feuerbach, is not a *Gotteslehre* but a *Heilslehre*.

It is not at all surprising that some one should rise up to say of these ideals what Feuerbach said of God. That some one was Max Stirner (Johann Kaspar Schmidt). Feuerbach says that what a man is worth so much is his God worth—neither more nor less. "Consciousness of God is man's self-consciousness; knowledge of God is man's self-knowledge." Know a man and you know his God. When man worships his God he worships nobody but himself. God is man freed from his bodily limitations, worshipped as another, as a being distinct from the self. You believe God is love because you love; you believe God exists because you exist, and so on. And so religion is merely to live a moral life, to make the most of one's self, to develop the God that is inmost in every one of us. God, then, is for Feuerbach the personification of man's highest thoughts. He has no real existence (25, p. 14 ff.; p. 223), Stirner (100, p. 194) takes up and advances this idea by saying that justice, patriotism, honor, and all the other virtues, are nothing but abstract concepts, fixed ideas even, that man has somehow got into his head but that have no reality as such. Man lives for himself and is law unto himself. There is but one thing he may not do—what he dare not do; and there are but two limitations to what he can do—his own finite strength and the egoism of others. If I wish to murder, says Stirner, I have the right, provided I do not fear it as something wicked. Outside of me there is no right. If what is right for me does not seem so to others, what is that to me? Let them defend themselves. Though the whole world say I am wrong I care not for the world. Might comes before right. Whether what I do conforms to the teachings of Christianity, whether it is humane or inhuman, it is all one to me. If I but attain my end you may call me what you please. The egoist asks, what do I need? and takes a continent if he can and if he needs it to satisfy his desires. Did not Napoleon do this very thing? If you cannot defend what you possess it is no longer yours by right (100, p. 369).

Once man was the measure of all things but Stirner has got beyond Protagoras and the sophists. As Fouillée phrases it: "Selon Stirner, ce n'est pas *l'homme* qui est la mesure de tout, c'est le *moi*" (30, p. 1).

Kronenberg tells us that Nietzsche was strongly influenced by Stirner (59, p. 182). Others, notably Kalthoff (54, pp. 32, 33), believe that Nietzsche never saw *Der Einzige*, since in Nietzsche's day it was rare. The weight of opinion probably inclines to the belief that though we have no evidence it is extremely likely that Nietzsche did know Stirner's book. The internal evidence, however, to borrow a phrase from textual criticism, cannot be relied upon since the men had enough in common to admit of their independently advocating similar views. Be this as it may, Stirner and Nietzsche were *deux têtes dans un bonnet*.[1]

I have spoken of Nietzsche's second period as a transition stage. Such it is in so far as his destructive ideas are concerned, for in this respect Nietzsche's last differs from his middle period only in being more extreme, more radical. But he did not rest here. He endeavored not only to destroy but to build, to build a positive philosophy of his own. This he embodied in his overman and his doctrine of the eternal recurrence.[2] Logically I should prefer to proceed at this point with those ideas that are little more than a development of his earlier thought, but the affirmation of life which he incarnated in his overman so colored his whole field of vision and so determined his whole outlook upon life during this last period that it will probably be best to begin with a consideration of this aspect of Nietzsche's philosophy.

Nothing is so characteristic of Nietzsche as his *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, the "*Pilgrim's Progress*," as it has been called, of Nietzscheanism. If you have read Nietzsche's other writings you will find very little in *Zarathustra* with which you are not already familiar, but that is no argument against the book. It is, as Nietzsche intended it to be, a poetical presentation of his philosophy. Nietzsche himself looked upon it as his greatest achievement, his masterpiece. In a letter under date of June 21, 1888, Nietzsche writes Mr. K. Knortz to

[1] Since writing the above, Bernoulli in his *Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche* presents evidence which makes it more than probable that Nietzsche was not unfamiliar with Stirner's book. See Vol. I, p. 135; also pages 238, 239.

[2] Dr. Paul Carus (see *Monist*, Vol. XVII, No. 2) expresses a preference for the purely Saxon "overman" to the Latin and Saxon hybrid "superman." The reason for his preference is a valid one and I follow him in using the word "overman" exclusively. I take the liberty when quoting from Tille's translation of *Zarathustra* to substitute this equivalent of Nietzsche's *Uebermensch* for Tille's "beyondman."

the effect that he regards his *Zarathustra* as not only the most profound book that the German language possesses but also, from the literary standpoint, the most perfect (57, p. 36). In his *Twilight of the Idols*, he does not limit himself to Germany but asserts: "I have given to mankind the profoundest book it possesses, my Zarathustra" (74, XI, p. 218). I am not surprised, he informs us elsewhere, that people fail to understand my *Zarathustra*. To understand such a book the blood of the gods must needs course through one's arteries (73, XIV, p. 415).

Many of Nietzsche's adherents are content to accept his estimate at its face value. His sister, for instance, declares categorically that none but the "highest spirits" are competent to weigh this book (28, II, p. 422). After such an ultimatum it is, no doubt, presumptuous on my part to do that very thing, but I must confess myself a Philistine as regards the present-day Nietzsche cult. *Thus Spake Zarathustra* seems to me to be little more in essence than an incompatible mixture of Darwinism and Pythagoreanism diluted with a large volume of volatile matter which, from the standpoint of the philospher, is presumably that intangible something called poetry. Distill the poetry and what you have left will prove an exceedingly small residue. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am aware that poetry was never intended to pass through the retort of the scientist. Not only Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* but some of the world's acknowledged masterpieces would present a sorry spectacle after undergoing a process such as that of which I have been speaking; but, poetry aside and looking at the book from the standpoint of cold philosophy I should say, at a guess, that if we were to cast overboard all the bombast and other ballast with which *Zarathustra* is freighted, its contents could be reduced at least three-fourths.

As the book opens we find Zarathustra in the mountains from which he descends to announce the doctrine of the overman. "And," so the story continues, "Zarathustra thus spake unto the folk:

'*I teach you the overman.* Man is a something that shall be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass him?

'All beings hitherto have created something beyond themselves: and are ye going to be the ebb of this great tide and rather revert to the animal than surpass man?

'What with man is the ape? A joke or a sore shame. Man shall be the same for the overman, a joke or a sore shame. . . .

'Behold, I teach you the overman!

'The overman is the significance of earth. Your will shall say: the overman shall be the significance of earth. . . .

'Verily, a muddy stream is man. One must be a sea to be able to receive a muddy stream without becoming unclean.

'Behold, I teach you the overman: he is that sea in whom your great contempt can sink. . . .

'Man is a rope connecting animal and the overman,—a rope over a precipice.

'Dangerous over, dangerous on-the-way, dangerous looking backward, dangerous shivering and making a stand.

'What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal: what can be loved in man is that he is a *transition* and a *destruction.*

'Behold, I am an announcer of the lightning and a heavy drop from the clouds: that lightning's name is *overman*'" (74, VIII, pp. 1-10).

In one form or another this overman is the burden of Nietzsche's song in *Zarathustra.* Who is this overman? Is he merely a high type of man, or a being as different from man as man is from the ape? The language of the passages just quoted unmistakably points to the latter view. On the other hand, Frau Förster-Nietzsche tells us that while the public has interpreted these words literally, Nietzsche meant to set forth a parable which should represent the vast gulf that separates the ordinary mortal from the exceptional genius. She insists that Nietzsche never held to the Darwinian hypothesis (28, II, p. 437 ff. and 521 ff.).

Now the careful Nietzsche student knows that there is much in Nietzsche's writings that will support the sister's contention. In his *Gay Science* he speaks of Darwin's "incomprehensibly one-sided doctrine of the 'struggle for life.'" He goes on to say that not necessity but abundance reigns in nature. The struggle for life is an exception (73, V, p. 285; also 74, XI, pp. 173, 174). He even ridicules the Darwinians, saying:

> "You accept this mediocre
> Reason of this English joker,
> For 'philosophy'" (74, X, p. 248).

In his *Dawn of Day* he declares positively:

"However highly mankind may be developed—perhaps in the end, it will be on a lower scale than it was in the beginning—a transition to a higher order is no more attainable than the ant and earwig, at the end of 'their earthly career' can aspire to a kinship with God and eternity" (p. 44).

We could hardly ask for anything more explicit than when Nietzsche says:

"The problem which I here put is not what is to replace mankind in the chain of beings (man is an *end*) but what type of man we are to *cultivate*, we are to *will*, as the more valuable, the more worthy of life, the more certain of the future.

"This more valuable type has often enough existed already; but as a happy accident, as an exception, never as *willed*. . . .

"Mankind does not manifest a development to the better, the stronger, or the higher, in the manner in which it is at present believed. 'Progress' is merely a modern idea, *i. e.*, a false idea. The European of the present is, in worth, far below the European of the Renaissance; onward development is by *no* means, by any necessity, elevating, enhancing, strengthening.

"In another sense, there is a continuous succession of single cases in the most different parts of the earth, and from the most different civilizations, in which, in fact, a *higher type* manifests itself; something which, in relation to collective mankind, is a sort of overman. Such happy accidents of grand success have always been possible, and will, perhaps, always be possible, and even entire races, tribes, and nations can, under certain circumstances, represent such a *good hit*" (74, XI, p. 239).

It is evident that Nietzsche was not, as is probably quite generally supposed, an unalloyed Darwinian. But as opposed to Nietzsche's sister I do not believe that the innumerable references to the overman in *Zarathustra* are one long parable. The language is too positive. No reader of Nietzsche can escape the conviction that, if not a Simon pure Darwinian he certainly held at least to some modification of the theory. As early as his *Inopportune Reflections* he says that a new custom, that of understanding, is growing within us and may in thousands of years be powerful enough to enable mankind to produce regularly the wise man as he now brings forth the unwise (73, II, p. 112). And in next to the last of his collected works he asserts that savages are, compared with the longest time, exceedingly highly developed men (73, XIV, p. 202). As I see it Nietzsche uses the word overman in a double sense. Sometimes it means nothing more than the highest representative of man as we know him to-day, equivalent to the "genius" of his first period; another time it means a new type of man, such an advance upon the present *genus homo* as he is upon the *pithecanthropus erectus*. In what sense the word overman is used in any particular case will depend, of course, upon the context.

The word *Uebermensch* is not original with Nietzsche. Goethe uses it in *Faust* and again in a preface to his poems the lines of which

are strikingly applicable to Nietzsche. The word is said to occur also in Herder's *Briefe Zu Beförderungder Humanität* (89, p. 44). That the term overman represents for Zarathustra an idea quite Darwinian, that the struggle for life and survival of the fittest are its warp and woof, he who runs may read. Says Zarathustra: "Much-too-many live, and much-too-long they stick unto their branches. Would that storm came to shake from the tree all that is putrid and gnawed by worms!" (74, VIII, p. 99.) Zarathustra does not counsel one to love one's neighbor. "*Spare not thy neighbor!* Man is a something that must be surpassed." "High above love for one's neighbor ranks the love of the remote, the most distant, the coming man" (74, VIII, p. 289; 73, VI, p. 88). "Upward goeth our way, from species to beyond-species" (74, VIII, p. 104). Once men said God, but Zarathustra teaches men to say: overman. Can we create a God! No? Then Zarathustra would like to know what business we have speaking of gods. He would have us, instead, create the overman, create his fathers and forefathers. Just as men once looked up to God, so now Nietzsche would have us fasten our eyes upon his overman (73, VI, p. 123; XII, p. 208). Ye ask, Zarathustra would say, how can man be preserved? Not so Zarathustra. He asks, how can man be overcome? He cares not for man but for the overman who lies near to his heart. What Zarathustra loves in man is that he is a transition, a destruction, and nothing likes he more in man than the ability to despise the petty folk who have won the mastery.

Zarathustra has not come to alleviate our sufferings. Never. Our lot is to be harder, and harder, for we must go to destruction. Only thus can man elevate himself to the utmost. What cares Zarathustra for our brief, petty sorrrows. "Ye suffer not enough to suit me," he cries. Ye suffer not as do I who suffer from man. My wisdom is gathering like a cloud, like all wisdom that is to give birth to the lightning. But these men of to-day — I shall blind them, gouge out their very eyes by my lightning (73, VI, p. 418 ff.).

You see how Nietzsche's *Uebermensch* resembles Stirner's *der Einzige*. In a sense he is the vital entelechy of Stirner's ideal. On the other hand he is the very antithesis of Tolstoy's "christian." Tolstoy's ideal man suppresses his instincts, roots them out if he can, is an ascetic, sacrifices himself and all that he has for another though that other be the most worthless of wretches, an outcast from society,

a pariah of the street; non-resistance is his practice, you cannot drive him into war. But Nietzsche's overman is a powerful animal that instead of suppressing obeys its instincts and obeys nothing but its instincts. His conscience he does not obey for he has none. Laws and customs are nothing to him for, pray, what are laws and customs? Are they not so many shackles for restraining the masses? But the overman has only scorn for the masses. He would tread them under his feet. He is the aristocrat of aristocrats. He would write over his door the so hackneyed and yet so effective lines of Milton when Satan says:

> "In my choice
> To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:
> Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven."[1]

Indeed, Nietzsche says in so many words: "To rule—and no longer be God's hired man—this resource remains for the elevation of mankind" (73, XII, p. 375). Now that he stands "beyond good and evil" what to the overman is the everyday significance of these words used by everyday people? "*One does not understand great men*," says Nietzsche, "they pardon their every breach of law but never their weaknesses." Pity, the overman not only knows not but he abhors it. He is pitiless. Whatever belongs to another the overman takes unhesitatingly if he desires it, for "what I do not want you to do unto me, why should *I* not do that unto you?" (73, XIV, p. 303). Thrasymachus said to Socrates: "I say that what is just is nothing else but the advantage of the more powerful" (84, Bk. 1). And Hobbes, in his *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society* says that for man, "in the state of nature to have all, and do all, is lawful for all. . . . In the state of nature profit is the measure of right" (48, II, p. 11). So Nietzsche would have us know that might makes right. The Cæsars, the Borgias, the Napoleons, these are Nietzsche's heroes. A people is only Nature's roundabout way of getting to six or seven great men (73, VII, p. 102). The masses and unfortunates are of no concern to Nietzsche. "I must insist," he declares, "on the *thorough prehension, thorough comprehension* of this necessity—that it can, under no circumstances, be the

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. I, lines 261-263.

task of the sound to wait upon the sick, to make the sick whole'' (74, X, p. 173). Much rather would Nietzsche exterminate those who have miscarried in order that the best may have everything their own way (73, XIV, p. 72). The sick are parasites. We cannot help being born, but once born we can decide whether or not we shall live. Men should be taught, especially by physicians, that a man who can no longer live proudly can do nothing better than to take his own life and die proudly (74, XI, pp. 192, 193).

Once rid of all these unfortunates, Nietzsche sees visions of the future—and what vistas open before him! Seized with rapture Zarathustra exclaims:

"O my brethren, I consecrate you to be, and show unto you the way unto a new nobility. Ye shall become procreators and breeders and sowers of the future.

"Verily, ye shall not become a nobility one might buy like shopkeepers with shopkeepers' gold. For all that hath its fixed price is of little value.

"Not whence you come be your honor in future, but whither ye go. . . .

"O my brethren, not backward shall your nobility gaze, but *forward!* Expelled ye shall be from all fathers' and forefathers' lands!

"Your *children's land* ye shall love, (be this love your new nobility!) The land undiscovered, in the remotest sea! For it I bid your sails seek and seek!" (74, VIII, pp. 294, 295.)

In his *Twilight of the Idols*, Nietzsche expresses his mistrust of all systematizers and declares that their efforts betray a lack of rectitude (73, XI, p. 101). Confident as he was of his own significance it must have afforded him no end of pleasure to know that some day he would prove a sore trial to those students of philosophy who like nothing so well as a man who, though he stand with his back to the wall over against powers and hierarchies, is at least at one with himself. Nietzsche not only can not agree with anobody else but it is quite impossible for him to be self-consistent. In the very same volume in which he sings the praises of his overman and of the walhalla that awaits him when the millennium is attained, he suddenly comes forward with what he regards as a stupendous discovery: that there is nothing but time that is endless, that not only the sum total of energy but the sum total of all possible combinations of matter is, although relatively so, not absolutely infinite. Already all possible combinations must by this time have been exhausted, so that the present arrangement of things must be a replica, a fac-simile, a mere

repetition in fact of what has been before. All that exists has existed an endless number of times, and in the future will exist an endless number of times, world without end. He who does not believe this must believe in a God.

That is the soul-stirring revelation that has been vouchsafed to Nietzsche which he generously communicates to the world. Soul-stirring it is. Just suppose for a moment, says Nietzsche, that one of these days a demon should steal upon you in your loneliest loneliness and say:

"'This life, as you are living it now and have lived it, you must live again and again, numberless times; and there is to be nothing new about it, but every pain and every joy, every thought and every sigh, and all that is so indescribably little and so awfully great will happen to you again, all in the same order and succession —even this spider and this moonlight among the trees and I myself shall be again as at this moment. The eternal hour-glass of existence is ever reversed—and you, you mite of the dust, with it.'

"Would you not cast yourself down and grind your teeth and damn the demon who spake thus?" (73, V, p. 265.)

"'Now I die and vanish,' thou would'st say," thus speak Zarathustra's animals unto him, "'and in a moment I shall be nothing. Souls are as mortals as bodies.

"But the knot of causes recurreth in which I am twined. It will create me again! I myself belong unto the causes of eternal recurrence" (74, VIII, pp. 319, 321).

And yet, because of his passionate love of life there comes a preternatural moment when Nietzsche can say, even to the demon who taunts him with his eternal recurrence, "'Thou art a God. Never heard I anything more divine.'"

Here belongs Nietzsche's best poem. Its charm is undeniable, but what is rather puzzling is that although it sings of the depths of joy its effective tone is that of melancholy. What to me seems the best English translation of the poem is that by Professor William Benjamin Smith which reads thus:

"Oh Man! give ear!
What saith the midnight deep and drear?
'From sleep, from sleep
I woke as from a dream profound.
The world is deep
And deeper than the day can sound.
Deep is its woe,—
Joy, deeper still than heart's distress.

Woe saith, Forego!
But Joy wills everlastingness,—
Wills deep, deep everlastingness.' "[1]

This translation is really remarkably good. It is unfortunate that Dr. Tille in his translation of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* failed so lamentably in the conversion of *The Drunken Song*. Much better than Tille's is Dr. Paul Carus's translation though he has hardly caught the spirit of the poem so well as has Professor Smith. No translation can be so effective as the original itself.

That is a prime characteristic of Nietzsche's last period. He glorifies life. The "will to live" becomes so strong that with all its misery he is not only reconciled to live his life over and over again but would do so by choice. He asserts that it is his great wish to learn to see in the necessity of things their great beauty. It is necessary to live and therefore he declares war against everything that is weak and decrepit in himself and others. Nay, since live he must he shall seek to make the most of life. And the secret for reaping the greatest pleasure out of existence, says he, is to live in jeopardy. "Build your cities," he cries, "on the slopes of Vesuvius! Send your ships into unexplored seas. Live in warfare with others and yourself! Be robbers and conquerors!" (73, V, p. 265.)

"No," cries Nietzsche, "life has not deceived me" (73, V, pp. 68, 209, 215, 245).

Thus it happens that Nietzsche who began his career as a disciple of Schopenhauer, during his later years stands antipodally over against him on the basal problem of life. Schopenhauer's fundamental value is "not to live;" Nietzsche's is the "will to live."

So strenuous is Nietzsche's affirmation of life that it leads the majority of writers on Nietzsche to emphasize this as his most cheerful, most joyous period. I have misgivings on this point. The very loudness of Nietzsche's tones strikes me as not the healthy outburst of one who cannot contain himself for the very joy of living, but sounds to me much more like the impassioned outcry of one who is voicing not so much his physical feelings as his inmost desires.

[1] See *Monist*, Vol. XVII, p. 251. The word joy in Smith's translation hardly conveys the meaning of the original *lust*. Our own "lust" would come nearer the mark.

However this may be there is no question but that Nietzsche thought highly of his doctrine of the recurrence of things. It is considerate, he tells us, towards non-believers. It has no hell nor even any threats. If you are not overcome by the truth of my teachings you have no sin ; if you accept them you have no merit. If you would experience something that is worth while again and again arrange your life accordingly. Probably you think that much time will pass before you are born again. Do not deceive yourself, the interval passes like a stroke of lightning. My doctrine must be extended gradually. Whole generations must pass during its growth until it becomes a tree so huge that it can overshadow all future races. What, compared with this mighty idea merely to comprehend which many thousands of years are required, are two thousand years of Christianity ! Remember, you have no right to my message until you have passed through every grade of skepticism. I insist on protecting myself against the gullible, against all those who believe too readily. I claim the right to defend my thought in advance. It is to be the religion of the freest, merriest, and noblest of souls.

The impossibility of reconciling Nietzsche's idea of the overman with his doctrine of the eternal recurrence of the same has already occurred to you. I shall come back to it later but must now hasten on to Nietzsche's destructive ideas.

I doubt whether a more fitting introduction to Nietzsche's views on morals could be written than a passage from Nietzsche's own hand which I quote from the *Antichrist*. You might call it the shorter catechism of Nietzscheanism. It reads thus :

"What is good?—All that increases the feeling of power, will to power, power itself, in man.

"What is bad? — All that proceeds from weakness.

"What is happiness? — The feeling that power *increases*,—that a resistance is overcome.

"*Not* contentedness, but more power; *not* peace at any price, but warfare; *not* virtue, but capacity (virtue in the Renaissance style, virtù, virtue free from any moralic acid.)

"The weak and ill-constituted shall perish; first principle of *our* charity. And people shall help them to do so.

"What is more injurious than any crime? Practical sympathy for all the ill-constituted and weak:—Christianity" (74, XI, p. 238).

Nietzsche as you see places himself above morals and brings our whole altruistic system to judgment (73, V, p. 143; VII, p. 53). Both religion and morals are due to a confounding of cause and effect. We are told, for instance, that vice and luxury ruin a people. Not so, says Nietzsche, vice and luxury do not precede but invariably follow degradation. We are told that this or that political party ruined itself by pursuing certain policies. Wrong again. The party was already corrupt, hence the ruinous policies. First comes degeneration then error (74, XI, p. 133). Take the case of conscience. Whence comes the evil conscience? It came to man when he lost his initial liberty and was placed under the restrictions of society. What misery resulted! The old instincts still asserted themselves but finding no outlet were forced to turn upon themselves. Thus originated the soul. The enmity, cruelty, and lust for torture that once vented themselves upon others now turned with malignant fury upon the individual himself and gave him a "bad conscience."

Such is the origin of the "bad" conscience which only the Greeks knew how to escape. It must be evident then that "right" and "wrong" as such have no meaning at all. Life is destructive, from its very nature it works injury, and any other conception of it is false (74, X, pp. 92, 104 ff.). Hence the criminal must not be despised. He is at least a man who risks his life, his honor, his liberty. Nor should his punishment be deemed a sort of expiation. Punishment does not purify because to trespass does not sully (73, XV, p. 353). As Nero says, in Stephen Phillips's play by that name,

> "Be the crime vast enough it seems not crime."[1]

At this point it is proper to consider Nietzsche's theory of the origin of punishment. He asserts that during the greater part of man's history no offender was punished because he was held responsible for his deed, but rather because the anger of his victim was aroused by the injury suffered, which anger discharged itself upon the aggressor. The whole idea of punishment is based upon the supposition that the creditor who cannot collect what is due him, in true Shylock fashion satisfies himself by causing the debtor pain. That is to say,

[1] Phillips, Stephen: *Nero*, N. Y., 1906, p. 137.

the whole process at first was not one of punishment, as we understand it, at all. The motive was merely to render the offender harmless and at the same time to satisfy the just demand of the victim for compensation. Moreover, it is a means of arousing in the wrong-doer, and in others too, a sense of fear that may deter all from like acts in the future. But, as is taught to-day, that punishment is designed primarily to touch the offender's conscience so as to awaken in him a feeling of guilt, is an assumption that flagrantly violates sound psychology. Is it not true that genuine remorse is rare among criminals? And surely, our prisons and houses of correction are hardly the places to arouse such feelings. Nay, punishment hardens and does not soften; it arouses violent enmity against that society which punishes, and embitters the criminal's heart so that he lusts to wreak vengeance for the injury done him. Does not society itself do those very things, legally to be sure, but does it not do those very things for which it punishes the single offender? Speak to me not of punishment as improving a man, says Nietzsche, for *tame* him it may but *make better? never* (74, X, pp. 72, 93-104).

No less important than the question of right and wrong is the question of good and evil. Whence came these ideas? According to Nietzsche historians are far beside the mark when they would have us believe that unselfish actions in primitive times were lauded as "good" by those who profited by them, and that subsequently when this origin was lost sight of unselfish actions were felt to be good simply because they were habitually so denominated. This is wrong from start to finish. The judgment "good" never originated with the recipients of goodness. Nay, but it was the good themselves, *i. e.*, the noble, the strong, the men of first rank, men who felt the pathos of distance, it was they who created values and named them as they pleased. Utility? What was utility to them? Good has no necessary connection whatever either with utility or with unselfish actions. Herbert Spencer's theory that good is what has proved useful in the experience of the race, bad what has proved the reverse, is therefore, untenable.

Nietzsche claims that he hit upon the real origin of the terms in question while engaged in philological studies. He says:

"Pushing this inquiry I found that they [*i. e.*, the names for "good" in the different languages] all pointed to one and the same *shifting of concepts*,—that 'superior,' 'noble' in its caste sense, was in every instance the fundamental con-

cept from which 'good' in the sense of 'superior in sentiment,' noble in the sense of 'with lofty sentiment,' 'privileged in sentiment' necessarily developed;—a development running in all cases parallel with that other one which causes 'mean,' 'moblike,' 'common,' to turn at last into the concept of 'bad.' The most striking instance, illustrating this latter development, is presented by the German word '*schlecht*' itself. It is identical with '*schlicht*' simple. Compare '*schlechtweg*' (simply, plainly) and '*schlechterdings*' (absolutely). It denoted originally the simple, the ordinary man, in contradistinction to the gentleman, no secondary or equivocal sense attaching as yet to its meaning. About the time of the Thirty-Years' War—quite late, we see—the sense shifted into that which obtains at present."[1]

With further etymologies Nietzsche endeavors to fortify his assertions but scholars generally do not accept his conclusions. Brandes, who must be classed among the admirers of Nietzsche, calls the etymologies "zweifelhaft" (9, p. 175). Dr. Tille, who edits the English translation of Nietzsche's works, declares Nietzsche's proof "a complete failure." With a solitary exception where the derivation is said to be philologically possible, Nietzsche's explanations are pronounced by Tille, "all wrong or perfectly arbitrary" (73, X, p. xvii).

Upon this foundation of sand Nietzsche builds his theory. The good originally were the mighty. Actions now brandmarked immoral were then unmoral. Altruism was an unknown word. This noble-morality rooted in a triumphant assertion of the self (73, VII, p. 132 ff.; 74, XI, p. 56). His morality is that of self-glorification. He is pitiless, yet aids the unfortunate, not because of pity but because of his superabundance of strength. Nietzsche quotes an old Scandinavian saga as saying, "a hard heart Wotan laid in my breast." Such a man takes pride in that he knows no pity, and so the hero of the saga adds warningly: "Who in youth does not already have a hard heart, shall never have one" (73, VII, p. 239 ff.).

Picture to yourself a forerunner of the overman and you will have a very good idea of Nietzsche's primitive master among men. He is one of those who, in the language of Thrasymachus, "are able to do injustice in perfection" (84, Bk. I). His opposite is the "herd ani-

[1] (74, X, pp. 22, 23). It is interesting to note that Stirner in his *Der Einzige*, p. 173, says: "Die christliche Anschauungsweise hat überhaupt allmählich ehrliche Wörter zu unehrlichen umgestempelt; warum sollte man sie nicht wieder zu Ehren bringen? So heisst 'Schimpf im alten Sinne so viel als Scherz . . . ; 'Frech' bedeutete früher nur kühn, tapfer; 'Frevel' war nur Wagniss! Bekannt ist, wie scheel lange Zeit das Wort 'Vernunft' angesehen wurde."

mal" (Heerdenthier) whose heart is filled with envy because of the superiority of his master. Hence he calls this master "evil." Only the lowly, the weak, the poor, the suffering, the despicable, are "good" in his eyes. But in the eyes of his master he is the narrow utilitarian, the humble, the diminutive, the dog-like man, the mistrustful, the fearful, the coward, the sycophant who permits himself to be maltreated. Above all he is a liar. All aristocrats agree that the common people are untruthful (73, VII, p. 239 ff.).

Typical herd-animal is the priest, the most impotent of men. If we do not see in him the advocate and savior of the herd we utterly fail to grasp his vast historic mission. The world of suffering is his kingdom. He must be both weak and strong—weak in order that he may understand the weak, strong in order that he may hold their confidence.

"He brings with him salves and balms, no doubt whatever; but before acting as a leach he must inflict the wound. Then, in the very act of soothing the pain caused by the wound, *he will at the same time pour poison into the wound.* For in this art he is master, this great sorcerer and tamer of beasts of prey in whose presence whatever is sound, of necessity becomes sick, and whatever is sick tame" (74, X, pp. 173, 174).

It is due to a certain deep-laid scheme of the Jews that Christian morality, a morality that is fit for none but slaves, has gained the mastery. And such is our present despicable morality. The "blond beast" has been tamed. He is no longer permitted to roam about as he pleases, to act as his instincts guide him, but is bound and fettered with forms, conventions, laws, and statutes. To-day none but the weak are good, none but the bad are strong. Our morality of to-day protects the herd-animal and persecutes the masterful man as one who is inimical to the public weal. It teaches man to hate the very thing that only makes man great — the will to power, compared with which nothing else has value. Morality to-day is dominated by the herd-animal, and as such, while it hunts down the Napoleonic spirit, it takes the *Schlechtweggekommenen* under its wing; and the foster-mother of our pinchbeck, tartuffian morality is — Christianity.

Before considering Nietzsche's attack upon Christianity it will prove interesting to go back and trace the development of his anti-religious ideas. A direct descendant of not less than several generations of

clergymen his early expressions are such as to accord well with family tradition. This is clearly brought out especially by his early poems, from which I should like to quote but space forbids. I would refer especially to the Biography, Vol. I, pages 172 and 194.

On leaving Schulpforta, though troubled by doubt, Nietzsche speaks of experiencing more vividly than ever before the love of "the faithful God" (28, I, p. 194). About this time appeared Strauss's *Leben Jesu*. During the following year, while in residence at Bonn University, Nietzsche and his friend Deussen busied themselves with Strauss's book. Deussen ventured to express his approval to which Nietzsche replied: "The matter has serious consequences. If you forsake Christ you will be obliged to renounce God also" (15, p. 20). It is apparent that Nietzsche did not find it easy to cast off the impression made by years of early training. However, although he had registered for courses in theology as well as in philology, Nietzsche very soon dropped all but the latter. His sister becoming uneasy as to his religious views wrote to him concerning them, to which he replied in June of 1865, somewhat as follows; Should one believe what conforms to the wishes of one's relatives, is most agreeable to oneself, and so forth, or should one willingly sacrifice all such things for the sake of truth, even when that truth itself is not at all agreeable? He continues:

> "Certainly, faith alone blesses, not that which is objective, which stands behind faith. I write this, dear Lisbeth, solely to meet the common arguments of the faithful who appeal to their inner experiences and deduce therefrom the infallibility of their faith. Every genuine faith is infallible; it furnishes that which the believing person hopes to find in it, but it does not furnish the slightest support for founding an objective truth" (28, I, p. 216).

Nietzsche's final and absolute break with Christianity dates from the time when he accepted the leadership of Schopenhauer. During his first period Nietzsche practically ignored Christianity in his writings. What his attitude was during his transition days has been touched upon in its proper place. Before taking up the further development of these views I want to call attention to a striking page in the seventh volume of his colleeted writings. If you wish to learn, says Nietzsche in substance, where a man belongs in the social scale, test his ability to reverence things of first rank. The manner in which Europe has, on the whole, maintained respect for the Bible is probably the best result of the refinement of manners that Europe owes to Christianity.

We have gained much when the masses have finally learned that they must not touch everything, that there are sacred experiences witnessing which it behooves them, as if on holy ground, to remove their shoes and to keep at a distance their smutty hands. Nothing is so disgusting as the lack of shame with which our modern *Gebildeten* dare to touch and taste everything (73, VII, pp. 249, 250).

What a pity that Nietzsche did not take his own lesson to heart! But I forget. Nietzsche, of course, stands "six thousand feet" above the rest of humanity. He, as the grand exception, may do what unto ordinary mortals is interdicted. Did he not almost verbally say, when it came to criticising Wagner: It is a matter of course that I do not lightly grant anybody the right to make my judgment of Wagner his own. This irreverent rabble that are as thick as vermin these latter days, should not even be permitted to mention so great a name as that of Richard Wagner, be it in praise or in blame (73, XIV, p. 378).

Had Nietzsche only so much as half applied the above-mentioned test to himself we should have been spared many a passage in which he "touches" and "tastes" of things for whose perception he lacks the proper sense-organs; passages in which he violates every canon of taste; passages so vitriolic that be he ever so irreligious no normal man who respects the feelings of thousands and hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men, could possibly write; passages in which Nietzsche

> "with ambitious aim
> Against the throne and monarchy of God
> Raised impious war."[1]

All the world stands ready to listen to a man with convictions who brings forward the reasons for his belief or unbelief, but why should we listen to one who, conscious apparently of his dialectic deficiencies, thinks to administer a fatal thrust when he says: "One does not refute Christianity, one does not refute a disease of the eye" (74, XI, p. 55). Or again: "To-day our taste decides against Christianity; not our arguments" (73, X, p. 168). On this basis Nietzsche proceeds not to argue God, Christianity, and all that is religious out of existence; not that, for his arguments are flimsy; what he does is to hurl his Zarathustrian thunderbolts at all that others hold sacred. Surely

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. I, lines 41-43.

Eckermann was right when he said to Goethe: "It is no great art to be clever when one has respect for nothing" (22, I, p. 178).

Frau Förster-Nietzsche tells us that the *Antichrist* as we know it was not published by her brother. Had he done so, she adds, he might have toned it down a little (28, II, p. 883). The book, therefore, strictly speaking, is a posthumous one, completed moreover only just before he broke down in Turin. Undoubtedly Nietzsche was already under the stress that preceded his break-down, which, all things considered, inclines one all the more to slight the work. However, since it is quite impossible to say in how far Nietzsche was irresponsible at the time of writing the book in question, and since the ideas embodied in the *Antichrist*, in essence at least, can be found in his earlier works, we shall, I presume, be under the necessity of considering its contents. I will say, though, that I shall avoid repeating here passages that are nothing but empty blasphemy and that contain no pretense of argument. Scenes such as the *Eselsfest* in *Zarathustra* are simply beneath serious criticism. I fully agree with Düringer—who is a jurist and not a theologian—when he says, in commenting on this Eselsfest incident, that if, as Nietzsche's adherents maintain, he is not one mentally diseased and irresponsible at the time of writing *Zarathustra*, one must declare him as insolent a man as one can conceive (20, p. 77).

Responsible or in part irresponsible, Nietzsche perceived what he expresses thus:

"Christianity is a system, a view of things, consistently thought out and *complete*. If we break out of it a fundamental idea, the belief in God, we thereby break the whole into pieces: we have no longer anything determined in our grasp! Christianity presupposes that man does not know, *can not* know what is good for him and what is evil; he believes in God, who alone knows. Christian morality is a command, its origin is transcendent, it is beyond all criticism, beyond all right of criticism; it has solely truth, if God is truth,—it stands or falls with the belief in God." (74, XI, p. 164.)

"But, ye Christians, what do ye?" one can imagine Zarathustra asking, "I praise God," answers the saint in the forest. Alack, and alas, says Zarathustra unto his heart when he is alone again: "'Can it actually be possible! This old saint in his forest hath not yet heard aught of *God being dead.*'" (74, VIII, p. 4.)

This then is Nietzsche's great discovery—"God is dead." As if

others had not come to the same conclusion before. "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God," says the psalmist (Psalms XIV: 1; LIII:1), proving incidentally that the idea is nothing new.

Probably there will be a time, continues Nietzsche, when the ideas of God and sin will seem no more weighty to man than a child's toy, a child's sorrow, and probably he will then find himself in need of some other toy (73, VII, p. 81). The more's the pity. How much more of goodness and happiness there would be among men if they were to give unto each other what until now they have rendered unto God.

There is but one people that has the right to a God—a people that believes in itself. Such a people recognizes in God its own virtues, but just as soon as a race decays, just so soon does its God decay. "He becomes everybody's God." There is no alternative: Gods "are *either* the will to power—and so long they will be national Gods—*or* else the impotence to power—and then they necessarily become *good*." God becomes the God of those who euphoniously call themselves "good," which being interpreted means "weak." The Christian concept of God, therefore, is one of the worst that has ever been reached (74, XI, p. 254 ff.). It is nothing more nor less than Plato's concept—for Christianity is nothing but Platonism so modified as to fall within the comprehension of the common people—that God is truth, and that truth is godly (73, V, p. 275; VII, p. 5). And yet the theologian speaks of truth when he knows right well that there is no such thing. The priest is not ignorant of the fact that there is neither God, nor sinner, nor Saviour, nor free will, nor a moral order of the world. We all know that the Church—"that form of deadly hostility to all uprightness"—has invented instruments of torture in bringing to the fore such concepts as an immortal soul, a last judgment, and another world, concepts by means of which she keeps men in servitude. What has happened that statesmen, and warriors even still unblushingly call themselves Christians? In fact real Christians there have never been, according to Nietzsche. The Christian is nothing but a psychological self-misunderstanding.

As a European movement Christianity was from the beginning, a movement initiated by the refuse of society. Its success was not due to the decay of civilization, whatever learned idiots may say to the contrary. It was the masses who conquered, it was Christian democ-

ratism that conquered. Here Nietzsche reminds his readers of Paul's expression concerning the weak, the foolish, the base, and the despised things of this world as being chosen of God. It was the Christians who destroyed a superior civilization (74, XI, p. 291 ff.).

Indeed, Christians and anarchists, for Nietzsche stand on the same level; both have the same motive of destruction as can be amply demonstrated by an appeal to history. It was the Christians who, like anarchists, destroyed the *imperium Romanum*. Christianity was its vampire. The *imperium Romanum* was the mere beginning of a structure calculated to outlast milleniums. It was sound enough to endure bad rulers and live but it could not withstand the "*corruptest* kind of corruption,"—Christianity (74, XI, p. 321 ff.).

Even yet Epicurus, through Lucretius, would have countermined Christianity and rendered its machinations vain had it not been for—Paul. But for Paul, declares Nietzsche, there never would have been such a world-religion as Christianity (74, IV, p. 62). This assertion that Paul and not Jesus himself was the real founder of Christianity, wild as it may seem to some of us, has of late been vigorously supported by such *savants* as Bousset, Weinel, Wernle, Wrede, and others. They protest that many of the fundamentals of Christian dogmatics are foreign to the teachings of Christ. Like Nietzsche they declare that these unsound elements were introduced very early by Paul. It was Paul, they argue, who corrupted the Christianity of Jesus (4, I, p. 106). Of course, the charge has not been allowed to pass unchallenged (52, p. 399; also *Nation*, vol. 85, no. 2205). While it would be out of place to enter into the merits of the question here, justice to Nietzsche requires mention of the fact that his contention finds some support.

To return to Nietzsche's argument: How could Paul light such a conflagration? Simply by saying: "'If Christ had not been raised from the dead your faith is vain.'" Thus arose the doctrine of personal immortality, a doctrine that violates, that annihilates reason, that equates all men so that every individual can claim eternal importance, and that deserves nothing but contempt (74, XI, pp. 299, 302; also 65, I, p. 256).

That is Nietzsche's indictment against Buddhism and Christianity, that both by one means or another, have tried and are trying to preserve, to keep alive as best they can, the diseased, the crippled, the

incurable, the degenerate, who constitute the bulk of mankind and who should be allowed to go to destruction. These two religions are to blame for the fact that man to-day does not represent a higher type. They are responsible because they preserve what should have been destroyed" (73, VII, pp. 88, 89).

Last of all we must consider Nietzsche's attitude towards Jesus. He declares that Renan is completely beside the mark when he finds in Jesus a "genius" and a "hero." Christianity is the very antithesis of the heroic. It is passive, submissive, resists not evil. As for the word "genius" it is entirely inappropriate.

"The kingdom of heaven belongs to children. . . . One might, with some tolerance of expression, call Jesus a 'free spirit'—he does not care a bit for anything fixed: the word *killeth*, all that is fixed *killeth*, the concept, the *experience* of 'life' as he alone knows it, is with him repugnant to every kind of expression, formula, law, belief or dogma. He speaks merely of the inmost things: 'life,' or 'truth,' or 'light,' are his expressions for the inmost things,—everything else, the whole of reality, the whole of nature, language itself, has for him merely the value of a sign, or a simile. . . . He had no need of any formulæ or rites for intercourse with God—not even of prayer. He has settled accounts with the whole of the Jewish expiation and reconciliation doctrine; he knows that it is by the *practice* of life alone, that one feels himself 'divine,' 'blessed,' 'evangelical,' at all times a 'child of God.' . . . If I understand anything of this great symbolist, it is that he only took *inner* realities as realities, as 'truths,'—that he only understood the rest, all that is natural, temporal, spatial, historical, as signs, as occasion for similes. The concept of the 'Son of Man,' is not a concrete person belonging to history, some individual, solitary case, but an 'eternal' fact, a psychological symbol freed from the concept of time" (74, XI, pp. 278-289).

How any one who knows the man's writings from alpha to omega can say, as does Frau Förster-Nietzsche, that it is wholly wrong to think that her brother hated Christianity since until his last conscious moment he cherished a tender love for its founder (28, II, pp. 764, 765), passes human understanding. Nietzsche hated Christianity with a fierceness so intense that even he could not find words enough, nor words scornful and malevolent enough to express his undying animosity. Listen to this last passage from the *Antichrist*, which I admit with much reluctance only to answer once for all, if that be possible, such senseless chatter as that to which we are regaled by some writers. The passage reads thus:

"With this I am at the conclusion and pronounce my sentence. I *condemn* Christianity, I bring against the Christian Church the most terrible of all accusa-

tions. . . . It is to me the greatest of all imaginable corruptions. . . . . The Christian Church has left nothing untouched with its depravity, it has made a worthlessness out of every value, a lie out of every truth, a baseness of soul out of every straightforwardness.

"This eternal accusation of Christianity, I shall write on all walls, wherever there are walls,—I have letters for even making the blind see. . . . I call Christianity the one great curse, the one great intrinsic depravity, the one great instinct of revenge for which no expedient is sufficiently poisonous, secret, subterranean, *mean*,—I call it the one immortal blemish of mankind" (74, XI, pp. 349-351).

I have sought to do justice to my subject and yet to spare the reader much that is inexpressibly coarse, vulgar, blasphemous, and occasionally, though rarely—to Nietzsche's credit be it said—obscene. If some one should wish to see to what lengths Nietzsche was capable of going let him read the *Eselsfest* scene in *Zarathustra* and the four lines under the heading *The New Testament*. These latter are only a degree less grossly cynical than Heine at his worst as, for instance, in a verse of his on the madonna which in its profanity out-Nietzsche's Nietzsche.

So radical are Nietzsche's ideas on sympathy and pity and so great a *rôle* do they play in his thought that the subject merits separate treatment. In Schopenhauer's ethics which he bases on his metaphysics, the idea of pity is of cardinal importance. Knowing Wagner's relation to Schopenhauer we are not surprised to find this affection playing no small part in the master's music-dramas. Little wonder then that Nietzsche, dominated as he was in his early years by these two geniuses, should think well of a feeling whose function is so magnified by his teachers. "One cannot be happy," he says somewhere, "so long as everything about us is suffering." Speaking of his war experiences Frau Förster-Nietzsche says: "What the sympathetic heart of my brother suffered at that time cannot be expressed; months after he still heard the groans and agonized cries of the poor wounded. During the first year it was practically impossible for him to speak about these happenings" (28, II, p. 682).

How is it possible that his later attitude should become such a negative one? The reason is at hand. "Where lie your greatest dangers?" Nietzsche asks in his *Gay Science*. "In commiseration," is the answer (73, V, p. 205). The biography clearly shows that Nietzsche was hyper-sensitive. He was practical psychologist enough to

realize this, and that his maladies tended to intensify such a condition. So he reacts. When in suffering, he says, "We make a desperate stand against any pessimism lest it might appear as a consequence of our condition, and humiliate us as conquered ones" (*Dawn of Day*, p. 110). That he combatted excessive sensitivity as a weakness was wise, but in reacting he did not guard against going to the opposite extreme. His quarrel with Wagner may also have induced him to over-emphasize a difference of opinion. Then Nietzsche was an arch-sensationalist. He was inordinately fond of extremes, of saying what others never yet dared to utter.

> "'Muthwillig ist sein Thun, muthwillig all sein Sinnen,
> Und Ausgelassenheit sein End und sein Beginnen,'"

was said of Goethe by a countryman of Brandes (9, p. 9). However ill they may apply to the greatest of German poets these lines describe Nietzsche exactly. But in addition to these factors there was another that determined Nietzsche's relation to pity which has already been mentioned incidentally and will be referred to again a little farther on. His later thought on this matter was, as is usual with Nietzsche, not original with him though he may claim the questionable distinction of having phrased it with unparalleled brutality. Familiar as he was with the classics Nietzsche can hardly have been ignorant of the position assumed toward pity by certain of the Greek thinkers and their schools. Plato would not admit the poet into his ideal republic because the poet betrays us into sympathies that are not befitting a man (84, Bk. X). Aristotle, on the other hand, held that it is not desirable to starve these emotions but that we should regulate them. This is his idea of *katharsis*, the purging of fear and pity, emotions found in the hearts of all men, by means of tragedy and certain forms of music. These arts awaken the feelings in question and thus we may rid ourselves of emotions which by "Aristotle are reckoned among τὰ λυποῦντα. Each of them is, according to the definition in the *Rhetoric*, a form of pain" (12, p. 237. For Aristotle's idea of katharsis see chap. vi). By this homœopathic treatment we return to our normal condition. Hence the stage provides an innocent outlet for certain instincts that must be satisfied yet whose indulgence in actual life is fraught with danger. In the same way, speaking of the musical *katharsis*, Aristotle tells us that all who experience it are to some degree purified, lightened, and delighted (1, Bk. VIII, 7).

The Cynics, self-centered as they were and with their insensibility to the brotherhood of man, cannot have had much use for the nobler emotions. No cynic has. The Epicureans and the Stoics alike in their endeavor to get away from the carking cares of this world, in their quest for the imperturbability of mind which constituted their haven of rest,—must needs undervalue sympathy as did the Epicureans, or abhor it altogether as did the Stoics. Every emotion being damnable in the eyes of an orthodox Stoic pity must go overboard with the other ballast. That is why Epictetus speaks in his *Discourses* (Bk. III, chap. xxiv), with such fine scorn of those who "sit down in a flutter," because of the vicissitudes of life.

Seneca, another Stoic, in his dialogue on *Clemency* (Bk. II, chap. v), brandmarks pity as a mental disease incident to those who cannot bear the sight of suffering. In his day as in ours there were those who, touched by the tears of criminals would, if they could, set them at liberty. Seneca objects to pity because it considers only a man's present plight, forgetting the cause to which it is due. Since pity is a disorder of the mind, according to Seneca, and since the wise man cannot be affected by any disorder, therefore he cannot be touched by pity.

But we need not hark back to the Stoics to find similar ideas expressed even more forcibly by one with whom Nietzsche must have been more or less familiar, namely, Spinoza. His name one meets again and again in Nietzsche's books. In the foreword to the *Genealogy of Morals*, Spinoza's name is mentioned as one of those who are "of common opinion in this one point: in the underestimation of sympathy" (74, X, p. 8). Now in the fiftieth proposition of the fourth part of his *Ethic* Spinoza says:

> "Pity in a man who lives according to the guidance of reason is in itself evil and unprofitable. . . . Pity is sorrow, and therefore is in itself evil. . . . Hence it follows that a man who lives according to the dictates of reason endeavors as much as possible to prevent himself from being touched by pity."

Bernard Mandeville, a Dutch physician who settled in London, in his *Fable of the Bees* — a book that Nietzsche may or may not have known — declares that pity is a fault and one of which the weakest minds have the greatest share (65, p. 42). For Montaigne—a favorite with Nietzsche — too, pity is a weakness to which especially women,

children, and the vulgar are disposed. He endorses the Stoic idea to succor the afflicted but not to sympathize with them (71, chap. 1). Charron, influenced by Montaigne, deems pity effeminate (13, Bk. I, chap. 24). La Rochefoucauld—another of Nietzsche's favorite authors —with thorough going cynicism writes above his *Réflexions* (*Tom.* 1, *Maxime* 264), the motto that our virtues ordinarily are nothing but our vices disguised. Naturally he sees in pity nothing but love of self. We help others trusting to be aided in turn when our day of affliction comes. Properly speaking kindnesses rendered are nothing more than kindnesses to ourselves in advance. Coming to Kant it is not difficult to predict what his views in this connection must be if one knows the rigor of his moral system. There are a number of passages in which his disapprobation of *Mitleiden* is manifest. He speaks approvingly of the Stoic sage who seeing that his friend cannot be saved says calmly: "What is it to me?" *i. e.*, he repudiated pity (55). And Kant goes on to say that if I permit myself to suffer at sight of another's woe there will then be two sufferers. Yet it is impossible that it should be our duty to add to the suffering of the world, for which reason it is evident that it cannot be right to do well out of compassion (55). Fichte like Kant calls only those actions moral that are determined by the will. He who pities is not performing a moral act. Indeed, the more instinctive his pity is the less moral will it be (26, p. 199).

Just as Schopenhauer's glorification of pity is the outgrowth of his metaphysics, so the depreciation of it by Spinoza and Kant, not to mention the others, is in harmony with their philosophy taken as a whole. The same is true of Nietzsche. Nietzsche is overwhelmed by his ideal of the overman. The overman must be attained and that as soon as possible. Everything that retards the coming of his ideal must be unhesitatingly thrown overboard. Well then, what about the halt and the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the weak and the diseased, what about all these imbeciles and madly insane; are they not the greatest obstacles that delay the coming of the millenium? Why have they not long since been relentlessly swept from the surface of the earth? Why not? Because of pity—that greatest of all brakes on the wheels of progress.

Oh yes, Nietzsche speaks of pity, but it is a higher pity, one that opposes itself to that which ordinarily passes as such. Others would do away with suffering. He would rather magnify it (73, VII, p.

180). "Ye say unto me,'' says Zarathustra, "'life is hard to bear' but for what purpose have ye in the morning your pride and in the evening your submission?" "Be it a God's, be it men's pity: pity is contrary unto shame" (73, VII, pp. 49, 385).

Sympathy, according to Nietzsche, is antithetical to those passions that invigorate the feeling of life. It lowers vitality. Suffering itself is enervating but sympathy multiplies its depressing effect. But that is not the worst feature of sympathy. What makes it so exceedingly reprehensible is that it thwarts the law of selection. It preserves the moribund and gives life a gloomy aspect by thus maintaining what is ripe for extinction. It is precisely because Schopenhauer was hostile to life that he lauds sympathy as a virtue whereas, in reality, it multiplies misery and advances decadence.

There is one other point that calls for discussion here. Nietzsche's last period is commonly thought of as his optimistic period. You will recall that I have asserted from the beginning that the term is a misnomer. Following Hollitscher I called him a pessimistic idealist and such, I fancy, I have proved him to be during his first two periods. What about his latter days? If he was not an optimist why is he said to be one? Unless I am in error what has misled people is Nietzsche's positive attitude towards life. Ask him, is life worth living? and the answer comes, yes. Well, then he must be an optimist. Now, in the first place, I would deny that it is safe to declare a man either an optimist or a pessimist upon a bare affirmative or negative reply to the question proposed. But the one fact that leads me to sincerely believe that writers on Nietzsche have jumped to a conclusion which the facts do not warrant is that Nietzsche's affirmation of life is far too impulsive, even for Nietzsche, his language much too overwrought, his very violence such that it suggests to me that Nietzsche's attitude towards life is artificial, is not so much the result of the desire to live, as of the will to live. Did not his "wild wisdom" tell him: "'Thou willest, thou desirest, thou lovest; therefore only thou *praisest* life!'" (74, VIII, p. 151).

But granted for a moment that Nietzsche's protestations ring true, even so he is not an optimist as I defined that word on an earlier page. Taking his words at their face value all we can say of Nietzsche is that during his last period he affirms life, affirms it emphatically.

But why? Because this world is a good world? Not at all. He does not differ from Schopenhauer in denying the misery of existence. He refuses to negate life merely because he wills to live. I can imagine Nietzsche saying that even were the world a thousand times worse than it is, even yet he would will to live. He tells us that one who like himself has sought to think pessimism "in die Tiefe," and to release it from Schopenhauerian bonds, has, in all probability, just on that account and without his own volition, opened his eyes to the opposite of this pessimism: the ideal of the most wanton, the most world affirming man who has not only reconciled himself to what was and is, but who wants to live it all over again as it was and is into all eternity, incessantly shouting *da capo* (73, VII, p. 80). In spite of his brave front Nietzsche was essentially a weak man. And he knew it. Hence his love of the Titanic. Does he not himself tell us somewhere: "There are free, bold spirits who fain would conceal and deny that their proud hearts are hopelessly broken?" (102, p. 26). In the words of Nietzsche's friend and colleague, Professor Overbeck, "the optimism of Nietzsche is that of the desperado" (7, p. 288).

Had writers on Nietzsche not been blinded by his will to live, how could they have called him an optimist when he says of such a basal thing as truth: "It is nothing but a moral preconception that truth is worth more than appearance" (73, VII, pp. 53, 62). "These spirits," he says, speaking of a certain class of men, "are yet far from being *free* spirits. *For they still believe in truth*" (74, X, p. 209).

It is as if one hears Max Stirner saying;

> "So long as you believe in truth you believe not in yourself and you are a—*menial*, a—*religious man*. You alone are truth, or rather, you are much more than truth. . . . All truth beneath me I value; a truth *above* me, a truth according to which I must *direct* myself, I know not. For me there is no truth for above me there is nothing" (74, X, pp. 365, 366).

Nietzsche likes the phrase, "naught is true, all is permitted." In his *Im Süden* he sings:

> "Im Norden—ich gesteh's mit Zaudern—
> Liebt ich ein Weibchen, alt zum schaudern:
> 'Die Wahrheit' hiess diess alte Weib" (73, V, p. 352).

Not only is he pessimistic as regards truth—concerning which Augustine (that great philosopher in the old Greek sense of the word)

cries out: "O Truth, Truth, how the very marrow of my soul sighs after thee!" but it is so in other things (2, Bk 3, Chap. 6). When he takes Wagner to task he wants it understood that he does not consider Wagner inferior to other artists; compared with Wagner other musicans are nothing. "Things are bad everywhere. The decay is universal" (74, XI, p. 49). Nor does he limit himself to music. Speaking of the sterility of the nineteenth century he asserts: "I have not come across a single man who has really brought a new ideal. . . .

Apparently all is decadence" (73, XII, p. 201).

"Humanity!" he cries. "Was there ever a more hideous old hag among all old women? (—unless it were truth: a question for philosophers). No, we do not love humanity" (73, V, p. 306).

That a man who does not love humanity should not love woman is not surprising, for it is axiomatic that the whole embraces its parts. Nietzsche is a true Schopenhauerian in his depreciation of the sex. He was quite right when he said: "One cannot think highly enough of women: but one need not therefore think falsely of them (73, XIV, p. 235). Sane remarks such as that just quoted are rare, but one could readily multiply passages such as these which follow:

"We think woman deep—why? because we never find any bottom in her. Woman is not even shallow" (74, XI, p. 101).

"Supposing she loved me (namely woman) what a nuisance she would become to me in the long run! And suppose she did not love me, how much more of a nuisance she would be to me in the long run! . . . It is a matter of two different sorts of nuisances; therefore let us marry" (*Dawn of Day*, p. 289).

"Some men have sighed because of the abduction of their wives. The majority because nobody would abduct them" (73, II, p. 303).

"Every association that does not elevate degrades and *vice versa*. Consequently when men take wives they generally fall a little, whereas the wives are somewhat elevated" (73, II, p. 304).

And Zarathustra says:

"Two things are wanted by the true man: danger and play. Therefore he seeketh woman as the most dangerous toy.

"Man shall be educated for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior. Everything else is folly.

"Over-sweet fruits—the warrior liketh not. Therefore he liketh woman; bitter is even the sweetest woman" (74, VIII, p. 88).

Nietzsche's contempt of woman follows naturally from his *Herren-*

moral, his overman ideas, and his worship of all that is Greek. But we should not do him justice if we did not point out that his most poisonous arrows are directed against the "new woman," the woman who wants the suffrage, who wants to be anything but a woman. At best, thinks Nietzsche, there is so much about woman that is pedantic, superficial, *Schulmeisterlich*, so much that is little, but woe the day when she loses her fear of man and when her eternal prosiness, with which she is so richly endowed, should dare to manifest itself.

I must dwell no longer on these matters. It is not necessary, for it seems to me you will concede that my point is proved. Nietzsche is not an optimist, not even in his third period—I should almost say never less than in his third period. Theoretically he may not be but temperamentally he certainly is a thoroughgoing pessimist. In closing my chapter on his transition stage I asked: "Could you conjure up a world much worse than that pictured in Nietzsche's *Menschliches Allzumenschliches?*" Yes, I am sure you can if you think of the world of Nietzsche's last period. Everything is wrong. There is no truth; art is on its deathbed; our system of morals leads us to annihilation instead of to the overman; Christianity, the worst of all religions, rules the world; in a word—everything is décadent.

And yet Nietzsche is decidedly no longer a Schopenhauerian pessimist for on the horizon he sees the dawn of day. Daybreak is at hand. The overman is coming; and this overman, who is the very foundation of Nietzsche's latter-day philosophy, proves beyond a doubt that Nietzsche was not only during his first, nor only during his second period, but that from the *Birth of Tragedy* to the very *Antichrist* itself he was neither more nor less than a pessimistic idealist.

As one passes in mental review the facts of Nietzsche's life, the nature of his philosophy, the peculiarities of his character and temperament, one is inclined to the conclusion that with all his modernity Nietzsche in some respects lived several centuries too late. He never felt at ease among us and that because essentially his was a Renaissance type of mind. At first blush it may seem absurd to carry Nietzsche back some four or five centuries, but let us see. According to modern historians the most outstanding thing about the Renaissance is not the Revival of Learning however important an element it may be, but the discovery, better said the rediscovery, of man (see 11, p. 308).

The Renaissance pushed man himself to the front, made him the focus of all thought and of all endeavor; the very thing Nietzsche is constantly doing. Raise man to the overman is his slogan, his gospel. Not the cosmos was his chief concern but the microcosmus. For Nietzsche as for the Renaissance man is the beginning, the end, the measure of all things. Man is the heart of the universe.

According to Wundt (105, I, p. 371), this period of new birth was dominated by two ideas, one directed outward the other inward, disparate you see yet supplementing each other. On the one hand overcome with wonder by the wide expanse their vision rapidly acquired as new worlds, in more senses than one, were laid open before their gaze, men came to a point where nothing seemed too marvellous to conceive, nothing too marvellous to believe. Something very much like this we find in the sweep of Nietzsche's imagination as he conjures up before us species beyond species. Nor does the parallel fail when we compare Nietzsche's conception of things with the second controlling idea attributed by Wundt to the Renaissance—the idea that by its own *lux naturalis* the microcosm relates itself to the macrocosm.

Another characteristic of the Renaissance is that the period was too rich in ideas to develop a systematic view of the world (105, p. 371). Could anything be more true of Nietzsche? We have seen how legions of ideas trooped through his mind, ideas just and unjust, rational and irrational, harmonious and discordant, all of which Nietzsche scattered about with spendthrifty hand, recking little whether or not they could be combined into any well-ordered whole.

The manner, too, in which not a few writers of the period in question speak of things good and holy, so esteemed at least by many, comes to the surface again in Nietzsche. There was a sort of over-individuation that reminds one of Nietzsche's *Herrenmoral*. There was a revaluation of all values, there were masters and there were slaves with, only too often, morals to match.

Finally, if the interest in classical learning is by no means all there is to the Renaissance it unquestionably is one of its most challenging features. This devotion to the classics was markedly developed in Nietzsche. We have seen how from his youth his thoughts ever turned to Greece and things Greek. His idea of culture if not wholly that of the humanists at least bases itself on their ideals.

In a word, Nietzsche beyond a doubt belongs in the *milieu* of the

Renaissance. His homocentricism, his individualism, his enthusiasm, his devotion to the humanities, his manner, the fertility of his genius, all combine to make him one of the corypheai of the Renaissance who appears on the stage just as the curtain is apparently about to fall. Indeed, he has been called "the last of the humanists" (93, p. 1), the *Vollender* of the Renaissance. The Renaissance proper, we are told, liberated man only from his scientific, industrial, and religious bondage, but he did not break away from a system of ethics in which man instead of being central is at the periphery. Thus far, it is asserted, men have been moral not for their own sake but for morality's sake. In revaluating all values and in assigning man his proper place Nietzsche is declared to have performed an immortal service to mankind (38, p. 597).

This is going too far. Who shall say that we have definitively passed into a new epoch? Pater said of Winckelmann that "he is the last fruit of the Renaissance" (80, p. xvi). Yet while Nietzsche belongs to the nineteenth Winckelmann was of the eighteenth century. In short, to pronounce Nietzsche the consummator of the Renaissance is as rash as it is safe to classify him in that period.

VI. Critique.

Such is Nietzsche's philosophy. And what now is its significance? There are many answers. Some would have us believe that its import is *nil*, which is impossible; or that it is an unmixed evil, which is improbable. Others profess to see in it a new gospel. Who are right?

This fundamental disagreement appears as soon as we inquire into the value of Nietzsche's very first book, his *Birth of Tragedy*. Seillière, who may very properly represent one of the parties at issue, declares that this monument of sterile ingenuity would long since have passed into the limbo of eternal oblivion but for the reputation acquired by Nietzsche with his other writings (95, p. 12). Drews, representing the denizens of the other pole, just as emphatically pronounces the book nothing less than marvellous (19, pp. 63-68). Who is right? To the best of my knowledge there is no evidence in favor of Nietzsche's theory of the origin of tragedy that can actually pass muster. His ideas undoubtedly are based much more on Schopenhauer's metaphysics than

on philological or historical research. Drews admits that the fundamental significance which Nietzsche ascribes to music in Greek culture is not a matter of history, nor does Drews deny that in matters of detail Nietzsche may be wholly at sea. What he maintains is that Nietzsche has given us a wholly new view of Greek culture and that he cannot be lauded too highly for being the first to reveal the inner psychological connection between the culture of Dionysos and the drama of the Greeks. If Nietzsche does not demonstrate he divines just why the Greek drama must be tragic.

Who is right Seillière or Drews? Your reply depends upon whether you belong to the one or to the other of James's types. If you are "tough-minded" you will probably reason somewhat as follows: Here is a man with a new theory about the origin of tragedy. Let us have the facts upon which he bases his theory. What, there are none? Nothing but sheer conjecture? Have we then not yet had enough philosophical speculation as to the origin of things ever since Thales to convince man that it never has and never will bring us one step farther? —in other words you will have absolutely no use for Nietzsche's book.

But if you are "tender-minded" you will say with Drews that though Nietzsche's solutions solve nothing, though he be entirely wrong in his assumptions, he still deserves credit for having raised new questions and for having made new answers possible.

This much can hardly be denied, namely, that the *Birth of Tragedy*, apart from any intrinsic value it may or may not have, is an unusually interesting and stimulating book, full from cover to cover with the enthusiasm of youth.

Of Nietzsche's *Inopportune Reflections* that against Strauss was called forth by the latter's *Old and New Faith*. It is a fair question whether Strauss's book is not infected with that superficial optimism of which Nietzsche complains, yet whatever truth the latter's essay may contain is expressed in a sensational way and buried under an overwhelming mass of distorted views. The value of Nietzsche's *Reflections* on Schopenhauer and Wagner considered from a critical standpoint is naught. In vain do you search these books for a reliable exposition of the philosophic or dramatic ideas and ideals of the men with whom they deal. Psychologically the essays are both interesting and important for Nietzsche reads much into Schopenhauer and Wagner that

is peculiar to neither but highly characteristic of himself. Nietzsche's Schopenhauer is not the real Schopenhauer but merely Nietzsche's conception of the "tragic philosopher" just as his Wagner is nowhere the real Wagner but Nietzsche's mental image of the Dionysian artist. Of all his *Reflections* Nietzsche's essay on history though open to much criticism is by far the most valuable. With all the exaggerations that one must expect from Nietzsche it contains, none the less, matters worthy of serious consideration. Whether or not you like Nietzsche's substitution of *vivo ergo cogito* for Descartes's *cogito ergo sum* it will not harm us to be told once more that education should be for life. Unquestionably Nietzsche is right in his contention that too often history teaching and study degenerate into mere hero-worship or antiquarian research instead of making out of us better men and women. Is there not a point, too, to Nietzsche's assertion that there is danger in forever expatiating on the greatness of the past? Of course, our young people should learn to reverence what was great and noble in days gone by but we must guard them against the belief that they are mere epigoni. Reverence for what has gone before should be not of a depressing nature but should stimulate to higher ideals, should make our youth not mere *Nachkommen* but worthy fathers and mothers of the future.

We may say, then, that of all his periods Nietzsche's first is by far the most sane, the most interesting, the most suggestive, and the most contentful. There is much to criticise, but the *Birth of Tragedy* at the very least is certainly suggestive, the essay on Strauss and the lectures on the *Bildungsanstalten* contain at least a grain of truth just as the essay on history has a core that affords food for thought. Considered apart from his personality the least valuable of the writings of this epoch are the *Reflections* on Schopenhauer and Wagner.

Interesting as Nietzsche's first period is his reputation as a philosopher rests chiefly on his later thought. Before turning to this it may be well to inquire as to what Nietzsche's own opinion is of the character and duties of the true philosopher. He expresses this in language so striking that I do not venture a translation but submit it as he wrote it:

"Ein Philosoph: das ist ein Mensch, der beständig ausserordentliche Dinge erlebt, sieht, hört, argwöhnt, hofft, träumt; der von seinen eigenen Gedanken wie von aussen her, wie von oben und unter her, als von *seiner* Art Ereignessen und

Blitzschlägen getroffen wird; der selbst vielleicht ein Gewitter ist, welches mit neuen Blitzen schwanger geht; ein verhängnisvoller Mensch, um den herum es immer grollt und brummt und klafft und unheimlich zugeht. Ein Philosoph: ach, ein Wesen, das oft vor sich davonläuft, oft vor sich Furcht hat, aber zu neugierig ist, um nicht immer wieder zu sich zu kommen" (73, VII, p. 269).

A magnificent bit of German whose onomatopeic force must impress even those unfamiliar with the language.

The genuine philosophers according to Nietzsche are imperious. They are creators. They say: "'Thus shall it be.'" Many generations must have prepared the way for the existence of the philosopher. Each one of his virtues must have been won one by one, then nurtured and transmitted down the line. When at length a philosopher is born we have a man who willingly shoulders great responsibility. He has nothing in common with the masses of men. He finds himself in conflict with them for his invariable enemy is the ideal of the day. Hence the philosophers are the evil conscience of their time. They vivisect the virtues of their day only to find that many of them are outlived. Thus nothing is so characteristic of the present century as weakness of will and consequently the true philosopher emphasizes strength of will (73, VII, p. 161 ff.).

It is easy to recognize in all this an attempt at self-portrayal. Nietzsche never suffered from an excess of modesty but like Walt Whitman celebrates himself and sings himself. Such crass egotism as his scarcely finds a parallel in the history of the world. Writing to Brandes under date of April 10, 1888, Nietzsche enclosed a *vita* which begins with the inevitable reference to his descent from the Polish nobility and even informs the Danish critic that at one time his (Nietzsche's) pulse-beat had a rate corresponding precisely to that of the first Napoleon. Indeed, this letter must be read to be appreciated (9, p. 138). Nietzsche took particular pride in his books and his style. "My ambition," he writes, "is to say in ten sentences what every one else says in a book—what every one else does *not* say in a book" (74, XI, p. 218). "I flatter myself," he says in a letter to Rhode, "to have brought the German language to its perfection in this Zarathustra" (28, II, p. 474). He does not hesitate to say: "I have given to the Germans the profoundest books they at all possess—a sufficient reason why they should not understand a word of them" (74, XI, p. 49). Nor did he lack confidence in his mission as philosopher. Her-

aclitus, Empedocles, Spinoza, Goethe, he calls his forefathers (74, XII, p. 208). Elsewhere he says: "In dem, wass Zarathustra, Moses, Muhammed, Jesus, Plato, Brutus, Spinoza, Mirabeau [permit me to call attention parenthetically to the marvellous combination of proper nouns in this sentence], bewegte, lebe ich auch schon und in *manchen Dingen kommt in mir erst reif ans Tageslicht was embryonisch ein paar Jahrtausende brauchte*" (76, p. 168). "Ye look upward," he tells us, "when longing to be exalted. And I look downward because I am exalted" (74, VIII, p. 49). Thus spake Zarathustra.

One is tempted to ask Nietzsche:

> "Art thou the first man that was born?
> Or wast thou brought forth before the hills?
> Hast thou heard the secret counsel of God?
> And dost thou restrain wisdom to thyself?
> What knowest thou, that we know not?
> What understandest thou, which is not in us?" (Job 15:7, 8, 9.)

Thus spake Eliphaz the Temanite.

"Alas," one might exclaim in the words of Nietzsche, "that mankind have had to take seriously the delirium of sick cobweb-spinners" (74, XI, p. 117). Nietzsche was a man who had the least possible connection with life. He never married, and, though a scholar by profession, spent most of his life without any duties. People are wont to ask whether a philosopher has really lived as he taught. Preaching is easy, practice hard. Such a question, Nietzsche would answer, reveals *naïveté*. How else can one attain knowledge if one has not dwelt in the country of which one speaks? That sounds well but what are the facts? Is the Nietzsche who roars and rages through the pages of his books a typical blond beast among men? His friends do not weary telling us what a gentleman Nietzsche was, how courteous, how tender, how anything but a ferocious leader of a "flaxen-haired herd of robber-beasts" (73, XIII, p. 116). Nietzsche was forever at odds with himself. It will not do to say that inconsistency is a natural accompaniment of development. We all know that, but in Nietzsche the changes are too rapid, too extreme, the disharmony is too great. Even though they do not completely obscure his fundamental ideas the endless contradictions are none the less galling to the normal mind. Thus in his first period he tells us that the æsthetic is the most basal thing in life but later says: I was wrong, it is science, and still

later declares that nothing is fundamental but the question of morals; during his first period he informs us with all possible emphasis that probably there never before was so great a philosopher as Schopenhauer nor so grand an artist as Wagner, but a little later he faces about and protests that Schopenhauer never lost the trail because he never was on it, and as for Wagner, probably such bad music was never written before.

But this is not all. In Nietzsche we have a man who in his solipsism loses sight of all proportions. For him Socrates is a "rat-catcher of Athens" (73, V. 264); Plato is a "decadent in style," "tiresome," "pre-existently Christian," one whose philosophy is "superior cheatery" (74, XI, 221); Descartes is "superficial" (73, VII, 122); the "old" Kant is an "insignificant psychologist," "moral fanatic," "not in the least original" (73, XV, 47); his is a "back-door philosophy," and he is "the most deformed conceptual cripple that has ever existed" (74, XI, 175, 160); "Hegel, Schopenhauer, Spinoza! what poverty, what one-sidedness" (73, XIII, 8)! Darwin, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, are "mediocre Englishmen;" Mill, that keen intellect, is for Nietzsche an "offensive transparency," a sort of yellow-back novel (74, XI, 161); Carlyle is an "abgeschmackte Wirrkopf" (73, VII, 221); and, finally, to enumerate no more, Spencer's system is "Krämer-Philosophie" (73, XV, 441).

If we took time to work through the history of philosophy since Socrates, eliminating all those thinkers discounted by Nietzsche, we would have left few others than himself. He thought that he was one of those spirits who bring us tidings of things and events far beyond our ken. He believed himself a forerunner of the dawn, the first bold shaft of light which, piercing the dense clouds of ignorance and prejudice, heralds the coming day. He deemed himself the most original of men and wrote:

> "Ich wohne in meinem eignen Haus,
> Hab niemanden nie nichts nachgemacht,
> Und lachte noch jeden Meister aus,
> Der nicht sich selber—ausgelacht" (73, XII, p. 194).

It need not be said that all who have sworn him fealty echo Nietzsche here as ever, but I was much surprised to find Robertson saying in his *History of German Literature* that Nietzsche was "the

most original thinker in the last period of German intellectual evolution" (90, p. 611). Robertson could hardly be further beside the mark. The most original literary composer Nietzsche indisputably was, but as a writer, as a thinker, he does little more than echo, as I have shown and will show, voices of to-day and of yesterday. Nietzsche's much vaunted originality is practically confined to his style.

Nietzsche's literary gifts are of a high order, yet here as always with him unqualified praise would be misplaced. Orage, in his rather sensational little book, says of Nietzsche that "there is no trace of bombast, . . nothing diffuse or turgid in his style" (77, p. 14). How anybody who has really read Nietzsche can speak thus is beyond me. You need not wade through Nietzsche's many volumes, simply turn to *Zarathustra* and *see* if there is not much bombast. Not only is Nietzsche often grandiose but turgid as well. Too often a mere cataract of words must hide from view a pitiful poverty of thought. This much said I gladly add my tribute of profound respect and sincere admiration for Nietzsche's remarkable abilities as a literary craftsman. No translation can begin to do him justice, and that although the German language does not lend itself very well to Nietzsche's purpose. Not only does his style evince dynamic range and feeling for rhythm, but there is a wealth of imagery and a certain sensuous beauty that captivates and holds the attention of even a cursory reader. This is true especially of *Zarathustra*. Striking parables such as his "children's land," a land undiscovered in the remotest sea, for which Nietzsche bids us set our sails to seek and seek, and scattered lyrical passages that haunt one's memory are not lacking. It is true, moreover, that although Nietzsche constantly surrenders himself to his unchained emotions and is forever goading himself to make each aphorism more irresistible than its predecessor, nevertheless, he can on occasion write a paragraph truly restful in its mood. Such a passage is the gentle pastoral scene entitled *Et in Arcadia ego* (73, III, p. 354). But, granting these exceptions, we may say that on the whole there are few half-tints in Nietzsche; nor need this surprise us. "Of all that is written I love only that which the writer wrote with his blood," says Zarathustra (74, VIII, p. 48). This being so need we marvel that the colors are nearly all hot, the shadows nearly all dark; that the clouds are rarely iridescent but

often pregnant with omens and portents of the overman, the eternal recurrence, the immediate, or the distant future? "Too heavily charged was my cloud," exclaims Zarathustra, "between the laughters of lightnings I will throw hail-showers into the depths. Powerfully my breast will heave, powerfully it will blow its storm blast over the mountains: thus it will relieve itself. Verily, like a storm my happiness and my freedom came." Spring-time zephyrs you see are rare with Nietzsche. Autumnal hurricanes prevail. "Verily, a strong wind is Zarathustra," announces the prophet; then, slightly changing the metaphor, he continues: "Saw ye never a sail go over the sea, rounded and blown up and trembling with the violence of the wind? Like that sail, trembling with the violence of the spirit, my wisdom goeth over the sea" (74, VIII, pp. 135-145). "Why so frenzied, Zarathustra?" you ask. Because, he answers, "too slowly all speech runneth for me. Into thy chariot, O storm, I leap. And even thee will I scourge with my malignity" (74, VIII, p. 113). Thus we find no calm contemplation, there is no time for it, there is only passion, vehemence, rapture, rage, all riding on avalanches of thought piled Ossa upon Pelion, for he must climb higher and higher until eventually, he, Nietzsche himself, becomes the first of the overmen. Hence he is apocalyptic, stirred by dreams and visions reading which we hear mighty thunderings and see powerful word-paintings dashed off by an excessive imagination. Only such an imagination could paint so vivid but also so loathsome a scene as that of the young man and the serpent delineated in *Zarathustra* (74, VIII, p. 228). And how rapid his changes from pathos to bathos, from the sublime to burlesque so vulgar that the veriest hack-writer would blush to admit it his own.

Nietzsche is out of joint with the world. He defies the world. If the consensus of opinion is that certain men are entitled to a prominent place in the history of philosophy that is all the more reason why Nietzsche should disenthrone them. And this intrepid judge, who does not hesitate to weigh the mightiest intellects of all time only to hurl them aside as so much chaff, this prescient genius who writes books that no man can open, but that abide interpretation until the overman comes, surely, he will set us a noble example that will incarnate and symbolize for us those teachings which we poor every day herd-animals can but faintly comprehend? Alack, his preaching and

his practice not only do not run parallel, they run counter. And must one refute such a man's philosophy? Is he himself not its best refutation?

It is not part of my plan to consider one by one all of Nietzsche's wild assertions. That would be asking too much. Yet I shall endeavor to weigh impartially, if I can, those ideas of his in which we are most concerned. Before doing so, let us have clearly in mind what Nietzsche's fundamental notions are. About these we can in our criticism group those not quite so vital.

We have seen that Nietzsche began active life as a Schopenhauerian. Schopenhauer believed that the world is the worst possible world that can exist. So did Nietzsche. But very soon he differentiates from his master. He begins to believe that however bad everything may be to-day better things are possible in the future. Thus is born the will to power. You see at once the radical difference between the two men. Schopenhauer is paralyzed, Nietzsche galvanized by his pessimism. But what is this future? The future of the overman. And who is the overman? The being who will result if we once again permit nature's law of natural selection, with which we are now constantly interfering, to operate freely. Hence naturally, necessarily, and consistently, Nietzsche becomes an outspoken enemy of pity, and since Christianity teaches pity, of Christianity. Obviously, one cannot put Nietzsche's many-sided philosophy into a single paragraph; but, if I mistake not, this is its heart and soul, its innermost core.

Let us begin by considering Nietzsche's will to power. It is his open sesame. It solves every riddle. This will to power is the most basal thing in life. Your love for those whom you hold most dear, for instance, is nothing but one manifestation of this key to the universe. Love is wholly and solely the desire to dominate the person whom we love. In a word, the will to power is the universal instinct for domination subject to no categorical imperative as was the will of Kant but standing its own master beyond good and evil. Ibsen's Brand expresses Nietzsche's thought exactly when he says:

> "It is Will alone that matters
> Will alone that mars or makes,
> Will, that no distraction scatters,
> And that no resistance breaks." (Act II.)

Critically considered he who runs may read that Nietzsche's will to

power is a mere outgrowth of Schopenhauer's will to live. Evidently Nietzsche thought he had hit upon something more fundamental than his whilom master, yet is not the will to power comprehended in the will to live? Is not life the first essential upon which any and every *will* to power must ground itself? Whatever one may say to this both principles are mere abstractions. We can know them only by their manifestations. To say that the will to power is the desire for domination brings us no further. The one is as abstract as the other. If you strike me down and subdue me that is one form of dominion. If I worst you in an argument we have another form. If a third controls both by love we have still another form. Mastery is not always a matter of force. Just here Nietzsche goes astray. He knows better and yet essentially his idea of the will to power is that of physical domination. That is why his heroes are Cæsar, Borgia, Napoleon. That is why Nietzsche could not understand Jesus. And yet, as somebody has well said, if Cæsar conquered Gaul and Napoleon conquered Europe, Jesus conquered the world. Doubtless Nietzsche knew it all the time but he never fully realized that the will to power is protean in its manifestations.

There is another point. If the will to power is the matrix out of which all that is developed, then, logically, the universe represents only so many developmental forms of this unitary principle. There must then be back and beyond the phenomenal world as we know it a noumenal world, a *Welt an sich*. All unconsciously Nietzsche therefore leads us back to Kant's *Ding an sich*, a conception in complete dissonance with Nietzsche's ideas of becoming as opposed to any fixed absolute reality. It is apparent that we have here another instance of Nietzsche's great difficulty—his failure to articulate his underlying ideas.

Conjuring with his will to power Nietzsche tries to show us how it will bring us to the overman. Our consideration of the overman need not detain us long. If the theories of evolution are wrong then Nietzsche's ideal creation is merely a bit of vain speculation. If right, Fiske may be correct when he argues that "on earth there will never be a higher creature than man" (27, Chap. III), in which case Nietzsche's overman in the sense of a new species remains as much as ever a creature of fancy. But granted that Fiske is wrong, that almost indefinite development is possible in the future, even so it is not

difficult to show Nietzsche on his own ground that he argues mistakenly. We have seen that Nietzsche's idea of the overman is a being who is little more than a magnificent beast of prey. He may be compared to what anthropologists call quaternary or tertiary man. Hence Nietzsche's overman would be not a new type beyond man but a reversion to a primitive type. Saintsbury is quite right when he brandmarks Nietzsche's *Uebermensch* as an "*Un*mensch" for such he is (91, III, p. 584). He is nothing else than a return to what Hegel calls the state of nature, a state in which man is governed by his blind instincts. From Hegel's standpoint Nietzsche's overman is an atavism pure and simple. Or, looking at it from another point of view, Nietzsche's overman is a despot, and, as Guyau says, the despot ends in becoming a child. He yields to caprice and thus objective omnipotence ends in genuine subjective impotence (39, p. 103).

Even Nietzsche's enmity against pity finds no support among evolutionists in general. For them pity is as much a result of evolution as any of man's other emotions. Nietzsche's greatest mistake Guyau, for example would say, is that he forgets that our social as well as all our moral standards are themselves evolutional products. There is little quite so pretentious and at the same time quite so barren as Nietzsche's conception of the overman. He is a child of fancy, what one might call with Hauptmann,

> "Ein Zwitter Ding, halb Tier, halb Gott,
> Der Erde Ruhm, des Himmels Spott" (44, Act III).

At best he is an *ens rationis*, as the schoolmen would say, and that only for Nietzsche.

Yet suppose that in some idle moment you yourself were to allow your imagination to run riot, to construct an ideal man after your own heart, what sort of creature would he be? One who, like Nietzsche's overman, has many characteristics in common with Lombroso's degenerate? Hardly, the overman of your fancy and of mine would, indeed, be physically a superior being but that not in order to lord it over slaves, to ruthlessly massacre all who happen to cross his path, to make this world a waste and a desolation by his pitiless severity. By no manner of means. Nor will he ruin men by indiscriminate charity. On the contrary, he will have learned to pity aright and physical superiority will be only incidental to certain other qualities:

mental, moral, religious, that will cause him to tower head and shoulders above the memory of his puny progenitors.

Harmless as such day-dreams may be they become positively pernicious when we make them the standard by which we measure the man of to-day. Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton in an essay on Bernard Shaw expresses this so truly and withal so picturesquely that I cannot but refer the reader to the passage. (14, p. 62.) If instead of reading Shaw you will read Nietzsche its applicability is at once apparent.

Cheek by jowl with Nietzsche's overman we find his doctrine of the eternal recurrence, an idea already hoary with age although Nietzsche promulgated it as something *funkelnagelneu*. Impressed by the constant decay and resurrection about them, the constant alternation of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, year after year and century after century, the Greeks scarcely could help but hit upon this recurrence notion if, indeed, they did not simply borrow it from still more ancient sources. Anaximander taught that all things return again and again to the womb of primary matter, to the unity of the original universal Being (35, II, p. 55). Heraclitus, too, believed in a world-cycle. Everything begins with and ends in fire only to repeat the process. This belief in the cyclical recurrence of things with almost mathematical precision was held likewise by the Pythagoreans if we may accept the remark truly *frappant* made by Eudemus—a pupil of Aristotle—whose familiarity with mathematics and astronomy facilitated a good understanding of Pythagorean doctrine. Gomperz reports Eudemus as saying: "'If we are to believe the Pythagoreans I shall once more gossip among you with this little staff in my hand, and again as now will ye be sitting before me, and likewise will it be with all the rest'" (35, I, p. 140). The reader will recall an analogous passage in *Zarathustra* previously quoted. Empedocles was another Greek thinker who believed in the eternal repetition of things (35, I, p. 239). It is entirely in keeping with what we know of Empedocles when Hölderlin causes him to say:

> "Geh! Fürchte nichts. Es kehret alles wieder,
> Und was geschehen soll, ist schon vollendet." [1]

[1] *Der Tod des Empedokles*, lines 2231, 2232: Hölderlin was one of Nietzsche's favorites. It may be worthy of mention that Hölderlin, like Nietzsche, was the son of a clergyman and destined for the same career; like Nietzsche a lover of all

The later Stoics entertained notions similar to those of Empedocles (35, I, p. 145; also 106, III, part 1, pp. 154-156). Coming down to modern times we find that Heine believes that by virtue of the laws of eternal combination all forms that may have already existed shall appear again anew (45). So Blanqui declares that he shall in all eternity be writing at the very same table in the very same cell of the fort Taureau under circumstances wholly identical with the present (8, p. 803). Nägeli, in a striking passage in his *Die Schranken der Naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntniss*, avers that though the possible number of combinations of matter is relatively infinite it is not absolutely so. Once exhausted they must repeat themselves. He asserts emphatically, though his argument is hardly convincing, that this conclusion is mathematically unavoidable even though we postulate centillions upon centillions of heavenly bodies or systems of them, for as compared with infinite time centillions of combinations are as nothing (72, p. 578). And in his poem entitled *L'Analyse Spectrale* Guyau writes:

> "Puisque tout se ressemble et se tient dans l'espace,
> Tout se copie aussi, j'en ai peur, dans le temps;
> Ce qui passe revient, et ce qui revient passe:
> C'est un cercle sans fin que la chaîne des ans" (40, p. 199).

Finally, Le Bon in one of his books declares that because of the limited number of possible combinations with a given number of atoms "the same world inhabited by the same beings must have repeated itself many times" (61, II, p. 420).

We see thus that this conception has had a certain fascination for many minds ever since the beginnings of philosophy. In so far, however surprised we may be to hear Nietzsche proclaim this as a new doctrine, it is not at all surprising that it should appeal to him. Indeed, there were reasons why it should be regarded with special favor by Nietzsche. Having taken all props from under society by robbing it of religion and morality, Nietzsche seeks to buttress his toppling structure by this recurrence idea. It is to make life earnest,

that is Greek, like Nietzsche became a sceptic, and like him eventually lost his reason. So close is the parallel that Daniel Halévy, *L'enfance et la Jeunesse de Nietzsche*, Revue de Paris, Vol. LXXXI, p. 117, says: "Un platonicien pourrait se plaire à penser qu'un seul génie alla de l'un à l'autre corps."

for as you live now so you must live again and again time without end. Hence there is a motive for so living that the thought of a ceaseless recurrence does not become repellent. Doubtless it is from this point of view that Lou Andreas-Salomé calls Nietzsche's *Wiederkunftstheorie* at once the foundation stone and the capital of his whole thought.[1] As a matter of fact it is nothing of the kind. Base and apex of Nietzsche's thought is his overman, and it is more than strange that Nietzsche did not see that these two concepts are incompatible unless our present existence is our first existence. Then there would be sense in urging men to strive higher since they could never in all their future lives transcend the level attained during their first incarnation, but Nietzsche-Zarathustra teaches explicitly that everything as it is to-day has been before. This being true what avails it to urge men to create something beyond themselves? Either the overman has existed already, and then he will return in due time whether we will or not, or, he has not existed, and if so, no effort on our part can change the course of the ages. In the light of Nietzsche's doctrine of the cyclical repetition of things his overman proves a will-o'-the-wisp, a mere conjurer's phantom.

Thus it is that Nietzsche's doctrine, if true, instead of moving man to exert himself as never before, would completely paralyze him. We would have utter fatalism. What motive is there to exert myself when no effort on my part will serve to carry me one stride beyond the past? And what becomes of the will to power which Nietzsche champions so strenuously if there is nothing but an endless recurrence of the same?

If there is any one thing more characteristic of Nietzsche's overman than anything else it is that he is pitiless. We have seen that Nietzsche's horror of pity became a sort of phobia with him. Now there is no question but that there is considerable maudlin sympathy that the world were better without. Indiscriminate charity such as that of Joseph, King of Bavaria, who morning after morning distributed a thousand guilders among the people, is nothing less than disastrous in its consequences. Joseph alone is said to have pauperized vast numbers of his subjects. (92, p. 582.) It must be such philanthropy that President Jordan has in mind when he asserts that half

[1] Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken. Wien, 1894, p. 220.

of the pauperism of the world is due to unwise charity (53, p. 62). So, again, we see how hordes of people, especially women but men too, intercede for atrocious criminals and seek to influence the authorities in a way that goes against the grain of a man. And how many women neglect their own families in order to gad about the streets and alleys of the slums, not infrequently to the disgust of the honest poor, who would much prefer to be left to themselves. Nietzsche is quite right when he holds such pity up to scorn, the pity that builds hospitals for cats and neglects babes. But there is a pity which raises and does not lower, which elevates and does not degenerate, of which Nietzsche, however, knows nothing. Again, in so far as he combats a morality based solely on sympathy, he is quite right. That leads only to Tolstoyism. And when he says that he wants to teach *Mitfreude*, instead of *Mitleiden*, he at least does well in emphasizing the one, though he errs in doing it at the expense of the other (73, V, p. 263). So, too, though few will go all the way with him, most of us would admit that there is a half-truth in his assertion that when a man who pushes an affair, carries out his decisions, holds faith with his own thoughts, overthrows and punishes the insolent, stands ready with his wrath and his good sword; in short, when a really masterful man pities, well, such a pity has value! But what value has the pity of those who are themselves weak, suffering, unfortunate. All Europe practically is diseased to the core with sensitivity to pain, with an effeminacy that seeks to hide itself under a religious and philosophic *rouge*. The pity which we find in such circles parades itself through the streets to our disgust (73, VII, p. 269).

Had Nietzsche limited himself to criticising, even castigating as he knew how, the spurious pity that flaunts itself before our eyes, his caustic pen might have done good service. But he neutralizes all the good he might have accomplished by outlawing all pity, all compassion, all commiseration, all sympathy. And surely, he should have reminded himself that, of all men, this proud disdain does not fit well into the facts of his life. Any one who reads between the lines can see in Nietzsche's letters how his heart yearned and ached for sympathy. If not, why do these letters abound with details about his sufferings? Furthermore, how did Nietzsche support himself subsequent to resigning his Basel professorship? By means of his writings?

From the biography we know that instead of making him independent they were a source of expense to him. He had, it is true, a small income of his own, but it was inadequate to his needs and constantly diminishing. What he lived on principally was the three thousand francs allowed him, the infidel, annually, by the city of Basel renowned for its piety. Doubtless Nietzsche regarded this stipend his just due yet, had they willed, the authorities, who must have found his later books highly objectionable, might have cut off his pension. Why did they not do so? I do not know, but can it be because Nietzsche could not provide for his own needs, because he was helpless, because—in a word, because—he was an object of pity? If so, then Nietzsche, the sworn enemy of any and all commiseration, who in high-stilted language tells us that as for him he will have none of it, this Nietzsche finds sustenance while seeking to immortalize himself as the great opponent, the arch-enemy of pity and all that savors of it, by eating the bread of Christian compassion. (How can one in this conection fail to think of Spinoza who—though in moderate language—also undervalues pity and sympathy, but who instead of living on charity proudly provided in his own needs by grinding lenses.) If so, then we should call a halt to the blatant iterations and reiterations of his adherents that never was man so brave, so independent, so I know not what. Mauerhof asserts positively that Nietzsche refrained from publishing the fourth book of his *Zarathustra* because he feared that its appearance might affect his pension (67, p. 444). I know of no evidence for this and in its absence distrust Mauerhof's judgment. We need not press the point. Whatever the facts may be we all agree with Nietzsche, when he denounces those who preach or practice an over-emotional sickly sentimentalism; but, fortunately, there are as yet few who stand ready to support him in his wholesale denunciations of an emotion that makes man human. In the words of President Hall: "To pity aright is a very important part of the education of the heart" (92, p. 590). Moreover, the unfortunate is not wholly useless to society. He who is incurable to-day may be saved to-morrow and develop into a worthy member of society. It is just by studying such cases that medical science advances. Fouillée does well to remind us that utilitarianism is fatal to science (29, p. 153). If man instead of seeking truth had kept in mind only that which

is useful science could never have developed. Truths that appear worthless to-day are world-compelling to-morrow.

Statistics do not bear out Nietzsche's assertion that philanthropy is reducing the vitality of society. Longevity is increasing. The science which is the means of saving those whom Nietzsche would discard is no curse to humanity. We need not yet seriously consider the advisability of abolishing our hospitals. Just here Nietzsche winds himself into a hopeless tangle. His highest gospel is natural selection—let men struggle to the death in order that the best may survive. We should, therefore, put all men on a level, for as it is now many a robust child because of an unfavorable environment is lost, whereas many a weakling is kept above the surface because of the care it happens to receive. But of putting men on a level Nietzsche will hear nothing. Never. The distinctions which exist to-day must be accentuated until we have none but masters and slaves.

Who would deny that altruism sometimes makes its mistakes, but by and large it is the basis on which the social structure rests. It is consequently, to say the least, a striking coincidence that this most unsparing critic of pity is stricken in middle life so that for eleven long years he is utterly dependent upon the sympathetic care, the tender pity of two devoted women. Would not those very Greeks at whose shrine Nietzsche worshipped so devoutly have seen in Nietzsche's fall the hand of Nemesis herself? Would they not have exclaimed: "Behold the wrath of the gods!"

I have tried to show that Nietzsche's enmity against Christianity was the inevitable outcome of his overman ideal. In so far we must respect Nietzsche for his consistency. What one cannot respect is his manner. Granted for a moment that Christianity is, as Nietzsche would have it, the worst possible thing in the world, something so reprehensible that we cannot exterminate it too rapidly, even so Nietzsche's manner can hardly be condemned with too much severity. He should have respected the convictions of those for whom Christianity is the highest good, the last anchorage in a life of storm and stress, the one thing that enables them to face the future even beyond death with equanimity, often even with a confidence and a joy that never fail to impress the beholder. Granted then that it is this we must destroy, the question whether Nietzsche's method was the proper one to follow, is not difficult to answer. There is but one answer.

Nietzsche does not hesitate to wantonly outrage the feelings of hosts of his fellowmen who happen to cherish what he maligns. Every effort to minimize the gravity of Nietzsche's offence in this particular is out of place. The greater part of Nietzsche's polemic against Christianity is not polemic at all. It is empty vituperation. Any one who is at all familiar with the searching criticism to which Christianity has been subjected by other thinkers ever since the days of Celsus will be disappointed with the paucity of the *Antichrist*. I doubt whether Nietzsche raises a single objection that has not been made many times before. His levity, too, is out of place. "*If* there were gods," says Nietzsche, "how could I bear to be no God! *Consequently* there are no Gods" (74, VIII, p. 116). Though put in a syllogistic form surely Nietzsche cannot intend this as an argument against the being of God. Such logic would compare admirably with the ancient doggerel:

> "If A is a turnip
> And B is a flea,
> Then C equals tweedle—
> Dumdee."

Logic of this type would justly expose Nietzsche to the snspicion of being one of those who, according to Descartes, seek the reputation of being bold thinkers by audaciously impugning truths of the greatest moment. Although it seems impossible that Nietzsche can have been in a serious mood when he wrote the passage just quoted, its solipsism is in entire harmony with his other utterances.

I do not care to take up one by one Nietzsche's fulminations against Christianity. It would not be worth while, for such arguments as he brings have been threshed over repeatedly. As early as the second half of the secoud century Celsus like Nietzsche said that Christianity is fit only for the poor, the ignorant, and the foolish. Like Nietzsche's the accusations of Celsus were marked by violent hatred and bitter scorn, invective, and mockery (60, I, p. 89). So the charge made by Nietzsche and others that it was Paul the apostle who perverted the truths of Jesus, dates back to the third century when Porphyry said precisely the same thing. Harnack tells us that Porphyry cherished an antipathy against Paul as against no other (43, I, p. 415; also 70, p. 189).

Permit me to answer one accusation of which Nietzsche makes so

much and then we can pass on, for we have already considered Nietzsche's censure of pity, which emotion more than any other embitters him against Christianity. Christian morality, declares Nietzsche, is a servile morality. But has not emancipation from serfdom gone hand in hand with the spread of Christianity? Against this it might be urged that precisely on that account Christianity fosters mediocrity. Should we not much rather uphold the interests of the few as against those of the many? That does not follow. To be sure the Christian ideal is essentially democratic, it breaks down many distinctions but is none the less, nay all the more, aristocratic in the true sense of the word. As Professor Seth says, Christianity does not level down but up (96, p. 111). Christianity nowhere teaches that all men are created equal, it does teach that all men stand alike before God. It sees in every man possibilities which the best Pagan insight could find only in the few. Need we go beyond the pales of the Christian Church to seek ensamples of noble chivalry and heroic courage?

Beyond question there are abuses upon which Nietzsche's heavy hand falls justly. If the Church degenerates until it is little more than an almoner for the rich, or an ossuary of marrowless dogmas, or a mere hierarchy of rites and ceremonies, or a sodality of women and devitalized men with an emasculated herdsman to lead them, then it lays itself open to attack. The sooner it comes the better. The Church to-day may well search itself closely whether Nietzsche as a sign of the times has not somewhat to say unto her to which she should diligently hearken. This being granted so far as Nietzsche is concerned what he brings us is after all so jejune that were it not for his virulence and his rhetoric, he could never have gained the public ear.

It cannot be gainsaid that Nietzsche's most poisonous arrows are directed not so much against its founder as against Christianity itself. Yet Jesus was for Nietzsche a pathologically effeminate soul, an interesting décadent (74, VIII, p. 255). Such is his language. And this is the Jesus who is, indeed, called the Lamb of God, but also the Lion of Judah; who is heralded as the Prince of Peace, but also as the Mighty God and the Everlasting Father. This is the Jesus who says, "No man having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9 : 62); who says elsewhere that the Son of Man shall be seen "coming in the clouds of heaven with power" (Matt. 24 : 30). Peabody in his Lyman Beecher lectures shows how

often this word "power" is applied in the New Testament to the influence of Jesus (83, pp. 52, 53). It is here that so much art sins in wiping every virile trait from the countenance of Jesus. He was preeminently manly. Who but a powerful personality, not necessarily of mere physical strength but of commanding mien, could single-handed have driven the whole horde of money-changers out of the precincts of the temple? The presence of scribes or Pharisees watching him "whether He would heal . . . on the Sabbath day that they might accuse him" (Mark 3:2), never deterred Jesus from a deed of mercy. He did not hesitate to go up for the last time to Jerusalem though so well aware of what awaited him that "He took again the twelve, and began to tell them what things should happen unto him" (Mark 10:32).

Again, if there is any one thing that stands out clearly with regard to his preaching it is that "the people were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught them as one having authority" (Matt. 7:28, 29). Even his enemies exclaimed: "Lo, he speaketh boldly" (John 7:26). Indeed, this sense of mastery and restrained force is one of the distinctive traits of Jesus' character. He did not argue with the people as did the scribes and Pharisees, He moved them by the magnetism of his personality. He spake without fear or favor. Addressing his own people in Nazareth the folk "wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth" (Luke 4:22), but speaking to the Pharisees he exhibited his fearlessness of these men in power by attacking their shams and abuses with an indignation white-hot in its fierceness, before which even they quailed, withered by his scorn. You must seek long if you wish to find an attack so annihilating as that recorded in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. Is Jesus acting the part attributed to him by Nietzsche when, well knowing that the scribes and Pharisees were "seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him" (Luke 11:54), he denounces them to their very faces with his terrible: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" (Matt. 23.)

Again it cannot be denied that the character of Jesus is often distorted and that by his professed disciples. His love is magnified at the expense of his justice. He is held before us as the embodiment of all that is gentle, tender, compassionate, but how rarely are we called upon to follow Jesus, Master of men. Yet, though it be true

that Jesus is sometimes represented as a being open to some of the charges made by Nietzsche, even so we cannot forget that Nietzsche knew his Bible and that he could have known better and should have known better than to mistake a caricature for the original.

Nietzsche wanted to set aside not only Christianity but current morality as well. This is natural because our morals are largely Christian. Without entering into the question of genesis must we not presuppose life in accordance with certain norma if it is to be human at all? Would man still be human if every rule of conduct were set aside? Nietzsche seems to realize this and so if he revaluates all values and pronounces those now current as found wanting, he offers us instead something infinitely better—his famous master and slave morality. Its nature has been outlined on a previous page. We saw that the etymologies upon which he bases this double standard of conduct are wholly untrustworthy, so palpably erroneous that even those scholars who are sympathetic to Nietzsche refuse to accept his derivations. Nietzsche's assertion that our present-day ethics have been imposed upon us by the Jews with malice aforethought is even more fanciful, so absurd from a historical viewpoint that it merits no consideration at all. As Dolson says in her monograph: "One would be almost disposed to think that one had mistaken Nietzsche's meaning, if he had not been so explicit, and if the numerous commentators upon his work were not practically at one upon the matter" (17, p. 74).

Admittedly there is much in society to-day that is far from being as it should be. No Daniel need come to judgment to tell us that. Yet it may be well that some Peter the Hermit should descend upon us from time to time to awaken us from our lethargy, to open our eyes to the vice that surrounds us and dwells within our very hearts, to preach a crusade against all iniquity, but if such were Nietzsche's purpose he was woefully ill-advised in choosing his methods.

The only outcome of such an *Umwertung* as Nietzsche planned is language such as that used by a youug nihilist of whom Kropotkin tells somewhere. Why, asks this youug man, why should I not become immoral? Because the Bible forbids? But the Bible is only a collection of fables like the stories of Homer. Because of Kant's categorical imperative? Why should this imperative have more authority over my actions than that other imperative that compels me to get intoxicated every so often? Or should I be moral to please Bentham

who would have me believe that it is more happy to lose my life in the attempt to save a drowning stranger than it is to look on and see him drown? Or, finally, should I be moral because my mother so taught me? If so, then I must do a host of other nonsensical things because my mother, good soul, who like all mothers was an excellent but ignorant woman, taught me.

To such cynicism leads Nietzsche's philosophy. Like the Cynics Nietzsche is characterized by a profound contempt for civilization and for traditional ideals. Like them he is extremely individualistic and mistakes brutality for independence of opinion. Nietzsche has the same contempt for man that one sees in Diogenes of Sinope who roams through Athens seeking, not as is often said, "an honest man," but with far greater cynicism seeking—"a man" (62, I, p. 193). Likewise Nietzsche, weary of the man of to-day seeks the overman. Lichtenberger would have us believe that Nietzsche was anything but a cynic. Let Lichtenberger look at the facts. I say nothing of his private life, but think of his writings, and then tell me if it is unfair to say of Nietzsche as Diogenes Laertes said of Antisthenes:

> "In life you were a bitter dog, Antisthenes,
> Born to bite people's minds with sayings sharp."
> (16, p. 223; see also 99, Chap. I.)

One phase of Nietzsche's cynicism we see in his references to woman. In how far Nietzsche's criticism of woman is an aftermath of Schopenhauer's influence I know not, but that his strictures are as a whole unjust everybody but a confirmed woman-hater will admit. Never having married, never having had a wide acquaintance with the sex only serves to further invalidate his conclusions. Despite his under-valuation of woman and despite his frequent brutality of utterance there is, strange to say, much in and about Nietzsche that suggests a feminine personality. As a woman idolizes her hero so Nietzsche during his first period worships Schopenhauer and Wagner. If he sees any weaknesses, any faults in them, woman-like he closes his eyes in order that he may turn his gaze not upon the real Schopenhauer and the real Wagner but upon the immaculate image he has set up within himself. When it finally dawns upon Nietzsche that he has deceived himself, when it not only dawns upon him but blinds him by the glare of full realization, how truly feminine is his revulsion. A man

would have seen his mistake and ashamed of his folly would have swallowed his disappointment with resentment against himself; but a woman would have seized upon her idol, stripped it of all the tinsel with which she once adorned it, and, not satisfied as yet, would have hurled it from its pedestal to break it, if possible, into a hundred thousand pieces. This is precisely what Nietzsche did. He turns upon Wagner in his *Der Fall Wagner* and *Nietzsche Contra Wagner* with an impetuosity that leaves us breathless. While his revulsion against Schopenhauer was never so complete as against Wagner the difference was only one of degree. This excess of feeling, this lack of consistent thinking, this jumping to conclusions which man rightly or wrongly commonly attributes to woman, is characteristic of all Nietzsche's utterances.

Of course Nietzsche's cynicism is only one result of his individualism. No man who has once sounded the depths of the soul, nay, who has only so much as glimpsed beneath its surface, can be a crass individualist of the Stirner-Nietzschean type. Man is gregarious by instinct and as a member of society he soon realizes the need of certain limitations. A society organized on Nietzsche's plan would, as somebody has said of Stirner's ideal, bury its founder like Samson under the ruins of the structure. Absolute egoism is self-destructive. Just so soon as society changes into so many pure individualists, just so soon has it signed its own death warrant. Nietzsche seems at times to have a subliminal inkling of this for ever and anon he comes back to his two classes—masters and slaves, *i. e.*, although he gets rid of the latter by ignoring them he merely reduces society by so many. He does not destroy it. Yet how can the masters join to form a society without subjecting themselves to certain limitations however few, without surrendering something of their individuality? This difficulty never seems to have worried Nietzsche. Had it one can readily prophesy the consequence. Uncompromising egoist that he was Nietzsche would have ridden roughshod over his masters as he always did over his slaves, and would have sacrificed this last vestige of society to his own idea of liberty. There is, therefore, no exaggeration in saying of Nietzsche's ideals that their realization would prove the direst calamity to the race. Anarchism would reign supreme. It is true Nietzsche abhorred the anarchists as he did the socialists. He speaks of anarchist dogs that howl through the streets of Europe

and it would grieve him sorely to hear his name associated with theirs (73, VII, p. 135). It is true, too, that only recently Palante in an issue of the *Revue Philosophique* tries to show laboriously that there is a pretty well-defined line of demarcation between individualism and anarchism (78, pp. 337-365), but after all, even though the terms be not synonymous would not absolute individualism, if introduced, result in complete anarchism?

Though there is justification for calling Nietzsche an anarchist in spite of his disclaimer, to rank him with socialists reveals dense ignorance of Nietzsche's world-view. Yet many German socialists coquette with Nietzsche and speak of him as if he were one of them (99, p. 31). How is it possible that a class of men whom Nietzsche despised from his innermost soul nevertheless turn to his works to arm themselves with telling weapons against their foe? This is possible in the first place, because the majority of them have no conception of what Nietzsche really stands for. Secondly, because Nietzsche in his individualism has nothing but contempt for the organized state, contempt which socialists share with him. Hence Nietzsche's writings naturally become their arsenal from which they equip themselves with some of their most pungent phrases. Though Nietzsche protests vigorously: "I do not wish to be confounded with, and mistaken for these creatures of equality," he has, notwithstanding, become their prophet (74, VIII, p. 138).

Nietzsche spared nothing and nobody. As Virgil speaking of Ephialtes says to Dante:

> "'This proud one
> Would of his strength against Almighty Jove
> Make trial'" (*Inferno*, Canto XXXI, lines 82-84).

so Nietzsche, according to Huneker, "used a battering ram of rare dialectic skill, and crash go the religious, social, and artistic fabrics reared ages since" (51, p. 133). Is it not to laugh? Were the outcome less tragic the picture would be nothing less than ludicrous. Imagine this modern Quixote astride his valiant dithyrambic steed, his frail logical lance in the rest, charging full tilt not against some harmless windmill but against the impregnable strongholds of truth, society, morality, and religion. Yet lo, behold, terrified by the terrific onslaught these eternal walls like those of Jericho tremble, totter and

fall! Will some men never learn? Is every latest attack upon the basal verities to be conclusive? Huneker for one, though an admirer of Nietzsche, does not lose his head for he continues: "But when the brilliant smoke of his style clears away we still see standing the same venerable institutions" (51, p, 133).

Nietzsche deserves a place in the history of philosophy if for no other reason than to show how mad it is to philosophize "with the hammer." It is as yet too early to predict what Nietzsche's place among the thinkers of the world is to be. I suspect it will not be a large place, but I venture to say that what will assure him at least a niche in the hall of fame is not his emphasis of the active as opposed to the passive, though that is as it should be, not his holding out bravely against all socialistic propaganda, not his theories of art and culture, or of the place of history in education; it is nothing of all this, it is that he is the entelechy of many of the movements of the past. In a negative way he has dared more than ever man ventured before. That, it seems to me, is the key to Nietzsche's significance. Though he never originated a single really new conception he precipitated and crystallized within himself many of the ideas of the past. He has pushed mere physiological selection, individualism, solipsism, cynicism, skepticism, enmity against Christianity, to their *Ultima Thule*. He should serve as an eternal beacon warning men that there are rocks which one approaches at his peril. He illustrates the bankruptcy of a life built wholly upon reason. Nietzsche would believe nothing, not even the existence of truth. For Nietzsche there are no axioms, no self-evident truths. Yet if we must demonstrate everything we are in a sorry plight indeed. The mere fact that such a new old *credo* as pragmatism can cause such a commotion to-day, not among laymen who know not the language of the schools, but among those very men whose lives are sacred to the study of philosophy shows that in solving the ultimate riddles of the universe we have advanced nothing beyond the Greeks. The same old problems are still with us, we are still discussing whether the world is one or many, the possibility of certitude, the nature of truth, of the absolute, and of a number of other things.

This is not pessimism, it is the very best kind of optimism or at least leads to it. We all pity the man who wastes his time in the vain endeavor to write an epic when he has in him an expert bridge-builder. Being ignorant of his limitations he wrecks his career and involves

who knows how many others. To endeavor the impossible may be a grand thing but it is the last essence of folly. To pluck at the unreachable may not ruin your dry-as-dust, ossified, Teutonic theorizer, long since lost in the mazes of scholastic verbiage, but the man of fiery imagination tantalized by the ever elusive answer jeopardizes his sanity. Especially if, like Nietzsche, he abandons his profession, foregoes the companionship of his fellows, lives the life of an ascetic and perpetually grapples with all manner of things inscrutable, phantom or real. And how bootless it all is. We see this in Nietzsche. What has his sacrifice added to our store of hard-won knowledge? Not one iota. He has said some old things in a new way but not one single enigma has he solved. DuBois-Reymond's categories of inexplicables still stand intact. Indeed, as I shall show later, Nietzsche has only added to the confusion.

Should we not profit by Nietzsche's doom? If instead of squandering his time and involving himself in no end of misery by vain efforts to scale the heavens, Nietzsche had turned to the thousand and one problems that jostled him on all sides challenging solution because they are soluble, I say, if Nietzsche had done this what might he not with his talents have accomplished? We may rebel but the fact remains, whoever seeks, like Nietzsche, to transcend human limitations must, if he be made of the stuff martyrs are made of, pay the penalty. We may beat our heads against the adamantine walls of the unknowable but we shall only damage ourselves. Nietzsche will not have lived in vain if his tragedy brings home to us the truth that even the most venturesome of men, the Columbuses who eagerly seek admission into that region over whose entrance is chiseled *ignoramus*, may well consider before they hurl themselves against that other portal, sealed with many seals, over which is written in burning characters—*ignorabimus*.

That such a barrier exists Nietzsche perceived clearly enough early in his career for in the *Birth of Tragedy* we read: "The noble and gifted mind . . . has been unavoidably brought face to face with the unexplainable" (73, I, p. 108). He saw Du Bois-Reymond's flaming symbols but heeding them not rode to his destruction. Knowing this we now see a world of meaning in his otherwise meaningless poem, *Among Birds of Prey*. It was written less than a year before the night of insanity forever darkened his mind and suggests the anguish of a lost soul.

Nietzsche's shipwreck on the rocks of reason should convince us that what we need is faith. If we cannot demonstrate the absoluteness of truth, if we cannot demonstrate a supreme reality, if we cannot demonstrate the existence of God, is that to hinder us from satisfying a felt need that will not be downed by believing in things many of us, most of us, *feel* must exist. You object that faith narrows a man. If so, does not this limitation bring its own reward? Is it not proverbially the narrow stream that runs deep which excavates its channel, not the broad river that covers no end of territory but loses itself in empty shallows? Your mere latitudinarian never does anything worth the doing. He is neither hot nor cold, fish nor fowl, one can look for greater things from an out-and-out Nietzschean than from him. It is the man who, often doubtless, despite his narrowness, his dogmatism if you please, but who believes in big things, transcendental things, with all his heart and soul, it is he who moves the world. Of course these are bald platitudes, but it will not harm us to remind ourselves that from a psychological standpoint nothing is more true than that it is only faith that can make men whole.

One likes not to sit in judgment on another. I prefer to let Nietzsche weigh himself. He says somewhere:

> "When I recently attempted to familiarize myself with my earlier writings that I had forgotten, I was shocked to perceive that there was one characteristic common to all of them: they speak the language of fanaticism. Almost in every instance when others are referred to, that sanguinary manner of calumniating and that enthusiastic wickedness are evident which are the tokens of fanaticism—hateful tokens because of which I could not have finished the reading of these writings had the author been only a little less known to me." (69, p, 25.)

Refreshingly sane you say? Yes. But yet his introspection availed nothing. If he said this in 1880 of his earlier works what must we now say of his later books? It is patent to everybody that throughout Nietzsche's tone grows shriller and shriller, his "sanguinary manner of calumniating" constantly more and more sanguinary, his "enthusiastic wickedness" constantly more and more wicked. As I think of Nietzsche's splendid opportunities, his superior intellect, his bold imagination, and his wonderful gift of language, as I think of what he was and did compared with what he might have been and done, I feel that I cannot better close this chapter than to exclaim with Byron:

"This should have been a noble creature: he
Hath all the energy which would have made
A goodly frame of glorious elements,
Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
It is an awful chaos—light and darkness,
And mind and dust, and passions and pure thoughts,
Mix'd, and contending without end or order,—
All dormant or destructive" (*Manfred*, Act III, Scene 1).

VII. Nietzsche's Influence.

"Friedrich Nietzsche is the greatest European event since Goethe" (77, p, 11,), says a writer whose enthusiasm eclipses his discrimination. Extravagant this pronunciamento unquestionably is, yet at the same time it must be confessed that few of us have more than the faintest idea of how large Nietzsche looms across the water. So we hear people saying: "Nietzsche, why bother with him?" Yet from the standpoint of science any cause whatever that produces serious consequences is worthy of careful investigation. I want to show briefly that Nietzsche is such a cause. Since in a study of this sort there is always great danger of attributing to an individual phenomena excited by nobody in particular but wrought rather by the all-pervading activity of the *Zeitgeist*, it will be well to avoid this pitfall by adhering rigidly to instances where the relationship of cause and effect is indisputable. Such a relationship probably cannot be said to exist either way between Ibsen and Nietzsche, for example, though both have much in common. We find in Ibsen the same individualism, the same emphasis of the will, the same poetic imagination, if less extravagant, that we find in Nietzsche, but direct influence of one upon the other there does not seem to be.

The more one studies the situation the more one is convinced that, as a writer in the *Nation* expresses it, Nietzsche is "the most powerful molder of modern German thought" (Vol. 85, p. 370), at least in so far as we may judge it by its literature. Engel assures us that Nietzsche's influence in Germany can be found in every *genre* of letters. He affected young-Germany much as Fichte did the romanticists (23, II, pp. 1015-1016). Stein laments that Nietzsche has become the philosopher-hero of the day (99, p. 7). Pringle-Pattison avers that "in Germany he [Nietzsche] has succeeded to the vogue of Schopenhauer and the more temporary popularity of von Hartmann; the sober occupants of

philosophical chairs complain that he is at present the philosopher *à la mode*" (86, p. 254). Paulsen remarks that "on the application-blanks of our public libraries the name of Nietzsche occurs more frequently, perhaps, than any other" (81, p. 153). Friedmann, speaking of Nietzsche declares that he not only influenced much of latter-day thought but that he has in large part furnished the philosophical substrate for much of our contemporary art, especially the drama (32, II, p. 440). Eucken does not hesitate to say that in ignorance of Nietzsche we simply cannot understand the life-currents of to-day (24, p. 507). Our own Huneker says of Nietzsche that "he has set his imprint on all European culture, from the dream novels of that Italian of the Renaissance, the new Cellini, Gabrielle d'Annunzio, to the Pole Przybyszewski, who has transformed Nietzsche into a very Typhoon of emotion" (51, p. 19). Steiger asserts that the second literary revolution of this century in Norway and Denmark proceeded from Nietzsche (98, II, p. 300). Gottschall informs us that no philosopher before Nietzsche had so radical, so deep-reaching an influence upon the letters of his day as Nietzsche has upon the new revolutionists. On another page the same writer avers that Nietzsche has brought about an indescribable perplexity in the minds of many (36, IV, pp. 622, 624). Martersteig, as late as 1904, speaks of Nietzsche's influence on creative art as great and still growing. At the same time he admits with Gottschall that Nietzsche's teachings have caused a wide-spread confusion (66, p. 501). Düringer assures us that in "circles" and clubs generally, especially such as interest themselves in the æsthetic, be it letters or art, Nietzsche is an object of paramount interest. There are even *Nietzsche-Vereine* which burden themselves with the task of making propaganda for their master (21, p. 3). Finally, Berg, who is an authority in this field, tells us that once Nietzsche's star began to rise it was but a moment and all Europe was startled by its brilliancy. Men boasted of their rights as egos, made debts, drank themselves drunk, seduced maidens, all in the name of Zarathustra. Berg tells of one man who, as an overman, claimed the privilege of expectorating about him in a highly offensive manner. Another treated his boy to gin, which occasioning surprise elicited the reply that this boy was to become an overman (6, pp. 216, 217). Düringer claims that time and again he has learned of cases in which the writings of Nietzsche caused profound estrangement between husband and wife. In one case a man proceeded

to beat his wife while calling upon Nietzsche to justify his brutality (21, p. 74).

Poor Nietzsche! To what a pass have his teachings come. "Mine enemies have grown strong and have distorted the face of my teaching" (74, VIII, p. 112), complains Zarathustra, but it is his friends that make Nietzsche ludicrous. He would have been the last to practice such coarseness and yet the outcome is precisely what was to be expected. It avails nothing to say that were he alive to-day Nietzsche would promptly cast off the allegiance of most of his followers. They are merely putting his theories into practice. No man can denounce society, altruism, morality, religion, no man can preach the revaluation of all values in order to put them on a purely egoistic basis which places might above right, and then justly turn upon those who seek to carry out his most cherished plans.

I trust this much will suffice to indicate the range of Nietzsche's influence and to at least hint at its nature. Instead of losing myself in a mass of details I shall now select a few specially striking examples that may serve as types for the rest.

First, then, we have the remarkable example of Nietzsche's influence upon music in Richard Strauss's famous orchestral poem "*Also sprach Zarathustra.*" A mighty conflict has raged about Strauss. He has been denounced, he has been lauded; he has been excommunicated, he has been deified; yet, differ as the critics may, not even his most energetic opponents deny that Strauss is the leading composer of his time. Pratt declares that Strauss "is at present the most conspicuous figure in both the orchestral and the operatic fields. His command of every technical resource is phenomenal, his ambition and energy impressive, and his originality and artistic daring unquestioned" (85, p. 638). Inspired by Nietzsche Strauss has given us an *opus* which by some is declared a masterpiece that ranks with the best that has yet been done, although there are not lacking those who protest that it is not music at all. Strauss does not profess to give us a musical representation of Nietzsche's philosophy. He says expressly:

> "'I did not intend to write philosophical music, or to portray Nietzsche's great work musically. I meant to convey in music an idea of the development of the human race from its origin, through the various phases of development, religious as well as scientific, up to Nietzsche's idea of the *Uebermensch*'" (101, p. 327).

In a single musical composition Strauss wants to epitomize the

struggle of the race. Verily, his modesty is of that egregious sort cultivated by Nietzsche. Yet let us look at the work somewhat from the viewpoint of those who see in Strauss's *chef-d'oeuvre* a forward step in musical progress. As Nietzsche's book opens with Zarathustra on the summit of a high mountain enveloped by the splendor of a new day so Strauss's composition begins with a glorious sunrise scene. The prophet is overcome by pantheistic raptures but soon feels himself mastered by the insatiable desire to find an answer to the riddles of the universe. He is attacked by doubt. Out of the conflict that rages within him springs a mighty impulse to action. Zarathustra goes down among men, revels in their pleasures till, overcome with repugnance of such a life, he chants the grave song of his youth and seeks consolation in science. Then comes convalescence ending in the dance which is interrupted by the bell of midnight.

At this point Zarathustra begins his journey into eternity. Some of the passages in Strauss's work are said to be of imposing grandeur. Others, though hideous, reveal the hand of the master. We are told, for example, that laughter, such as that in Strauss's composition, has never been heard before. Nietzsche speaks much of laughter as he does of humor, gay science, the dance, and yet as one reads Nietzsche, his mirth brings no sympathetic smile to our faces. Quite the reverse. "There is ice in their laughter," says Zarathustra (74, VIII, p. 13), and so Nietzsche's cachinations make us shiver as does a blast of the north wind. We are chilled to the bone. If Strauss succeeds in producing laughter such as that which reverberates through the chambers and corridors of Nietzsche's heart, it must be terrifying indeed. We have found Nietzsche bizarre, cynical, ironic, witty at times, wicked often; all these things one hears in Strauss's music. Huneker, in his dazzling fashion, interprets it for us thus:

"The themes appear, disappear, surge to insanity in their passion, melt into religious appeal, dance with bacchanalian joy, mock, blaspheme, exhort, and enchant. There is ugly music and hieratic, music bitter and sweet, black music and white, music that repels and music that lures—we are hopelessly tangled by the dream tunes of this enharmonic fowler, who often pipes in No Man's Land on the other side of good and evil" (51, p. 13).

Again, in another forcible passage, Huneker says:

"This is the vastest and most difficult score ever penned. It is a cathedral in tone, sublime and fantastic, with its grotesque gargoyles, hideous flying abut-

ments, exquisite traceries, prodigious arches, half gothic, half infernal, huge and resounding spaces, gorgeous façades, and heaven-splitting spires—a mighty musical structure" (*op. cit.*, p. 46).

If this is a true description of Strauss's symphonic poem, it is an edifice supremely adapted to be the abiding-place of Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

As an example of Nietzsche's literary influence, which does not belong to the class of books reading which we feel as if we were grovelling in the cesspools of society where dehumanized beings pass their existence, I select Adolf Wilbrandt's *Osterinsel* (104). This is really a striking book. That Wilbrandt had Nietzsche in mind when he delineated for us the portrait of his Doctor Adler is indubitable. Like Nietzsche this Adler is first a pro- later an anti-Schopenhauerian, like Nietzsche he is a minister's son, devout as a boy, has difficulties later with his publishers, depreciates the German people, and is at heart a broken man who accomplishes his final ruin by the use of narcotics (*op. cit.*, pp. 114, 130, 161, 118). Yet Adler is not a *facsimile* of Nietzsche. Thus his *Uebermenschentum* is precipitated by the death of his wife, a touch of sentiment that Nietzsche would have contemned.

Sitting beside the dead body of his Anna Marie, Adler recalls how often she mourned the philistinism of their day, the ceaseless striving for comfort, for peace at any price, the antagonism to all that is really great, the effort to keep alive so much that should perish, the senseless pity, pity, pity; thinking of this Adler rises in his might and vows that he will lead men to higher things, to a new day. In his passion he cries:

"Now that you have made your way from worm to man can you no further? Can you not realize in yourself your gods? You are to be god-men as distinguished from the ape-men you once were, you still are. Look at man. What is he? A transition. As the ape-man bridged the gaps between you and what is below, so you must bridge the gap between yourself and the god-man. Regenerate yourself, rejuvenate yourself as does the phœnix. Be what you dream. Conquer man as he did the ape" (*op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37).

This experiment is to be made on the Osterinsel somewhere in the Pacific. On the Osterinsel there shall be no Christianity for than Chrisianity there is no greater misfortune that could come to man. It is for the diminutive, the weak, the sick, it makes a hospital of the

world, it chants of a vale of tears whereas it should break into a chorus of joy and victory.

Adler makes three disciples, interesting characters every one of them. But all his plans with and for them come to naught. One follower proves to be a beggarly scamp who robs Adler's daughter of her patrimony; another turns out to be a sort of Tolstoyan ascetic; only the third has in him some of the stuff out of which overmen are made, though even he is defective in many ways. Thus he is far too tender to hope for a place among Nietzsche's blond beasts.

One of the most suggestive things about Wilbrandt's whole book is that its best parts are precisely those in which the author forgets Nietzsche. Little Klärchen is the best drawn figure in the book. She, fortunately, knows nothing of Nietzsche but is what she should be, a live, healthy, charming little girl.

Meerkerk's *De Starrenborg* (68), is a book that in spite of defects merits consideration especially because the writer, though palpably an admirer of Nietzsche, all unwittingly, I think, exposes to view the rock upon which Nietzscheanism is bound to shatter. Starrenborg is a heroic soul equipped with a will approaching in strength that of the immortal Brand. He believes that the much-too-many should be, if not exterminated, at the very least left to their fate. Yet, and here is the significant point, when Starrenborg discovers that all but one of his four children are tainted with the same dread malady—insanity, what does he do? All that he can to prolong their lives.

We see exactly the same thing in Nietzsche's sister. She swears by her brother's philosophy, yet when he went hopelessly mad did she shove him over the brink on whose edge he tottered? Did she shake him off as one who hindered her in realizing the goal of existence? Did she so much as abandon him to the tender mercy of others? We know better. According to her own account she nursed him, and loved him, and coddled him, and doubtless would have died for him; all of which, however natural, is criminal from Nietzsche's standpoint. Obviously it is one thing to teach and preach, *werdet hart*, it is another thing to practice what one preaches when it comes to one's own kindred.

Another book of the same type though by no means its equal, is Heyse's *Ueber allen Gipfeln* (46), Nietzsche's ideas come to the surface repeatedly (see especially pages 30, 72, 73, 93, 94, 103, 147-149, 207), but the hero is after all much more of a gallant than he is an overman.

Indeed, one of the secondary characters approaches Nietzsche's ideal much more closely than the chief actor. On the whole, the book is empty and tedious.

Ellen Key, the Swedish writer on educational and other subjects has been markedly influenced by Nietzsche. Take, for example, her chapter on *The School of the Future* in her *The Century of the Child* (56); this indictment of educational conditions of the present savors strongly of Nietzsche. Her very words have a ring that betray their origin.

We must proceed now to my third and last type, the uncompromising so-called realist. It is here that Nietzsche's effect upon contemporary literature is most in evidence. Were one limited to a single example of this school the choice should fall on August Strindberg. He is less pornographic than many and possesses more elemental vigor probably than either Sudermann or Hauptmann. We find in Strindberg the same egoistic traits that we found in Nietzsche. Hirsch says of Strindberg that he invariably speaks of himself as great and renowned because of his art and scholarship (47, p. 222). According to Berg (6, p. 123), Strindberg was the first to reveal the impress of Nietzsche. *Tschandala*, *Mit dem Feuer Spielen*, and *An Offener See* all reveal this impress. Particularly the latter pictures the overman type of hero. He does what others could not even fancy themselves doing, he knows what others never yet conceived, he is moody, has human passions but lacks the social instincts of humanity. The book reveals the same misogyny that marred Nietzsche only it is much intensified. The hero is an overman who stands so far above the mob that he must not so much as come into contact with the *canaille*, not even as their lord.

That Nietzsche directly affected both Sudermann and Hauptmann is asserted in so many words by Friedmann, for instance, in his *Das deutsche Drama* (32, p. 440). Other critics support this view whose correctness will not be questioned by those who have read the dramatists in question. Sudermann has a number of Nietzsche's traits. He is pessimistic to the core—temperamentally not philosophically. In his *Jolanthes Hochzeit* (1892), and in *Die Schmetterlingsschlacht* (1894), Sudermann endeavored to break away from his pessimism, but in vain. Like Nietzsche, Sudermann repudiates traditional ethics, like Nietzsche he is strongly individualistic, and like Nietzsche he preaches the doctrine of force.

"*Herrschen soll allein die Stärke*," says Hans Lorbass in *Die drei Reiherfedern* (1899), (Act 1, Scene 1). So *Johannes* (1898) teems with expressions that suggest Nietzsche's aphorisms. "Learn silence," says John laconically as Nietzsche says, "become hard." "With the law," says John a little later, "I have nothing to do" (Act 1, scene 9). Towards the end of the play Sudermann's hero says: "Verily, the time for my going-down has come, the time when my enemies sing my praises and my friends revile me" (Act 4, scene 7). In the majority of Sudermann's plays the actors fall roughly into two groups—masters and slaves, the former relentless in their power, the latter despicable with their pity and meekness.

It is true that in his *Drei Reden* (1900) Sudermann assails Nietzsche for his egoism but this does not alter the fact that Sudermann himself has not escaped infection.

Hauptmann's early work is not tainted with Nietzsche's philosophy but beginning with *Die Versunkene Glocke* (1896), Hauptmann comes under the magician's spell. How deeply he has drunk from Nietzsche's fountain we see especially in the third act of *The Sunken Bell*. It is saturated with Nietzschean ideas. While it is impossible to go into details here the reader can satisfy himself of the truth of my assertion by turning to the play itself.

As another instance of my last type I want to mention Hermann Conradi, one of Nietzsche's earliest disciples. That Nietzsche made a profound impression upon Conradi is evident on the surface. Unfortunately much of what he wrote is not fit to be read. In one of his books he records the generation of the overman in a scene that is shocking in its coarseness. Indeed, Conradi only just escaped trial for disseminating obscene matter by dying (42, p. 196).

Limitations of time and space prevent one's speaking of all the rest, even those who have attained to more or less prominence. There is Franz Evers with his *Königslieder*, Przybyszewski with his horrible *Totentanz der Liebe*, and the terrible d'Annunzio who portrays only the lowest passions, all these and others more have sat at the feet of Nietzsche. This is not saying that he can be held accountable for all these men say and do but it is exceedingly significant to note the class of writers with whom Nietzsche has the greatest prestige. When this wave of naturalism will come to its flood-tide nobody knows. One of our own critics thought he had found it in Gorky's *Nachtasyl* (51, p.

272). One may well believe that uglier quagmire could never exist and yet we are told that Gorky is passing out of favor in Russia. He is too tame. Leonid Andreef, who surpasses Gorky in depicting the horrible, has ousted the latter from first place. But Andreef's reign is now threatened by one Erastoff. After one critic's miscalculation another may well be slow in saying: "This is the last word in naturalism."

Bernard Shaw belongs almost in a class of his own. That Shaw has not read Nietzsche without assimilating some of his philosophy he would, I think, be the first to admit. The very title, *Man and Superman*, speaks for itself. We all know this play. The hero races across Europe in an automobile to escape the girl who wants to marry him. He is picked up by Spanish brigands whose leader is none other than a one-time Savoy waiter. In this romantic, fantastic husk Shaw wishes to convey the thought that man's evolution into the Superman is to be a process of sexual selection, which drives women to seek marriage in order that they may have children. In all this man plays a very subordinate *rôle*. The whole play is an astonishing melodramatic compound of realism and romanticism with a liberal sprinkling of Nietzschean aphorisms. These crop out especially in the chief of the *dramatis personae*, John Tanner, who, for instance, says:

> "Marriage is the most licentious of human institutions. . . . That is the secret of its popularity, and a woman seeking a husband is the most unscrupulous of all the beasts of prey. The confusion of marriage with morality has done more to destroy the conscience of the human race than any other single error (97, Act III).

In true Nietzschean fashion Tanner speaks of breeding the race "to heights now deemed superhuman" (*op. cit.*), and what is Shaw's "Life Force" if it is not Nietzsche's "Will to Power?"

That Nietzsche's influence upon present day life is not to be ignored has now, I trust, become apparent. The question that straightway suggests itself is this: How can a thinker whose philosophy cannot be brought into harmony with itself exercise such a tremendous influence? In answering this question we should first keep clearly in mind that the effects of a man's writings are not seldom wholly out of proportion to their intrinsic merit, to the amount of truth or error they may contain. If an unusual personality succeeds in objectifying himself in some book, or painting, or statue, or whatever it may be, he is

almost certain to find his admirers. Now Nietzsche has put himself into his books as has probably no other thinker. They reflect his every longing, his every fear, his hopes, his despair, all his moods and circumstances. And this he embodies not in a snug metaphysical structure every part of which is essential to every other part, but in a vast array of aphorisms that are by no means in *Einklang* so that his many volumes constitute an inexhaustible storehouse of highly polished phrases adapted to the most varying phases of thought.

It is therefore in no way surprising that Nietzsche should become popular, very popular even. The wonder would be if it were otherwise. It is true he finds few adherents among men and women who think. His reasoning is not sufficiently cogent. He gains his triumphs among the emotional type, and among the so despised masses. But over these his sway is hypnotic. Why? Because he is iconoclastic, says things the ordinary scholar would not even dream of saying and, most important of all, says them in an extremely telling way. Have you not caught the charm of *Zarathustra* even though you should abhor its content? Do you not see how its imagery, its ancient prophetic lore, its veneer of science, its positive tone, its reckless audacity, must impress those who are swayed by their emotions, who lack the critical faculty that distinguishes between fact and fiction? Comparatively few are able to formulate for themselves Nietzsche's world-view, but everybody, from the callow adolescent to the society woman who wants to be *en courant*, can dabble in Nietzsche. And there is hardly a phase of thought for which Nietzsche cannot furnish some appropriate vestment. The aristocrat can justify his domineering habits by appealing to Nietzsche's will to power and to his overman, the mystic can find satisfaction for his yearnings in contemplating the eternal recurrence of all things, the socialist, ignorant of or willfully overlooking Nietzsche's individualism can avail himself of the anarch's attacks upon the social structure, and the libertine can find license for no end of excesses in Nietzsche's revaluation of all values.

There is a further reason, first pointed out I think by Stein (99, p. 7), why Nietzsche's philosophy should meet with such a favorable reception. Every marked cultural advance is accompanied or followed by a certain satiety, such as that which we see in the Greek cynics who followed the golden age of Athens, in Agrippa of Nettesheim at the time of the Renaissance, in Rousseau for the eighteenth, and in Tol-

stoy and Nietzsche for the nineteenth century. At such times there ensues a sort of intellectual dyspepsia which manifests itself periodically in men who know how to express feelings shared by many. Such an one was Nietzsche.

While there is no cause for marvelling at Nietzsche's rapid gain in favor among many men, there is ground for surprise when we see the large number of women who acknowledge the leadership of one who rivals Schopenhauer in his depreciation of woman. How account for this? In the first place, I think there is a rather widespread opinion among psychologists that there is something about the typical misogynist that fascinates many women. If there is any truth in this assumption, the problem we are just now considering would be solved in part at least. But there are other factors. Most of Nietzsche's woman-admirers seem to have studied him very little. What they know of him they have absorbed from some lecturer who pictures Nietzsche in glowing colors, or they may have read some of his charming letters, or possibly they have dipped into the interesting biography by Frau Förster-Nietzsche who pictures her brother a paragon of virtue, or they may have read an aphorism or two, perhaps even most of *Zarathustra*, but the great majority of them have never so much as begun to fathom Nietzsche's fundamental ideas and values. These women are fascinated by his style, or enchanted by his æstheticism, or filled with compassion because of the great calamity that overtook him. That is why even they worship Nietzsche.

Probably Nietzsche's most ardent admirers are those still in their teens—or only barely out of them. Nietzsche's antipathy against mere tradition, his enmity against all bonds, his detestation of what is abstract, his love of the superlative, his self-assertiveness, his iconoclasm, and his hero-worship, all appeal to instincts that are at the maximum in the adolescent. Gaster testifies to the effectiveness of this appeal. In his *Deutsche Lyrik* he says: "The fact that he [Nietzsche] has exerted and still exerts a most powerful influence upon the young is indisputable" (34, p. 241). The Professors Vogt and Koch tell us that Nietzsche's doctrines are eagerly devoured by the young, adding in the same breath that his influence is as sinister as it is great (103, II, p. 492). In a letter to the writer, from which I trust he does not object to my quoting a single sentence, Professor Paulsen of Berlin says that

Nietzsche's influence upon unripe minds is disturbing.[1] As for myself, I believe Baumeister (3, p. 2) is right when he maintains that teachers should take position against Nietzsche considering how sensitive the adolescent is to a philosophy of this type. It should require no broad argument to convince the open-minded that whatever we may say of mature minds no boy or girl should be allowed to read Nietzsche. Just because he knows how to defend brilliantly with superficial dialectics an assertion that subverts those very truths which we endeavor to inculcate, just because our boys and girls lack the total view that at once reveals the hollowness of Nietzsche's asseverations, just on that account we should place him without the slightest compunction upon the *index expurgatorius*. Eulenburg, in a lecture on *Schülerselbstmorde*, declares that there is a considerable number of students whose suicide can be traced to the reading of Nietzsche, Zola, and Schopenhauer (5, p. 294). This is not at all surprising. To let the immature read Nietzsche is like pulling up a plant to see if its roots are growing. Nobody should be permitted to read this modern Thrasymachus until he has read and assimilated at least the first book of Plato's *Republic*. It is amazing to see how cleverly Socrates punctures the *Uebermenschentum* of Thrasymachus. If ever, then certainly in the case of Nietzsche the warning is in order: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit" (Colos. 2:8).

I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to President G. Stanley Hall for counsel and criticism; to Dr. T. L. Smith for many a kind office; to Dr. Louis N. Wilson for many courtesies; and to a number of others who have furthered this study. Thanks are due the editor of the *Educational Review* for permission to reprint certain passages from my article on *Nietzsche's Educational Ideas and Ideals* that appeared in the *Review* for January, 1909.

References.

1. Aristotle. Politics; tr. into English by B. Jowett. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885. 2 vols.
2. Augustine, St., bp. of Hippo. Confessions; tr. and ed. by W. H. Hutchings, Lond., Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. 322 p.

[1] Since writing this the genial Paulsen has died.

3. Baumeister, A. Friedrich Nietzsche, Ein gefährlicher Verführer der heranwachsenden Jugend. Lehrproben u. Lehrgänge a. d. Praxis der Gymnasien u. Realschulen, 1901. Vol. 70, pp. 1-19.
4. Bavinck, H. Gereformeerde Dogmatiek. Kok, 2d ed. Kampen, 1906. 4 vols.
5. Benda. Über Schülerselbstmorde (report of a lecture by Eulenburg). Zeits. für Schulgesundheitspflege, 1907. Vol. 20, pp. 294-295.
6. Berg, Leo. Der Uebermensch in der modernen Literatur. Paris, Albert Langen, 1897. 281 p.
7. Bernoulli, C. A. Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche. Jena, Diederichs, 1908. 2 vols.
8. Blanqui, A. L'Éternité dans les Astres. Rev. Scientifique, 1872. Ser. 2, Vol. 1, pp, 800-803.
9. Brandes, Georg. Menschen und Werke, 3d ed. Frankfurt, Rütten & Leoning, 1900. 560 p.
10. Broene, Johannes. Nietzsche's Educational Ideas and Ideals. Educ. Rev., 1909. Vol. 37, pp. 55-70.
11. Burckhardt, Jacob. The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy; tr. by S. G. C. Middlemore. Lond., Sonnenschein, 1898. 559 p.
12. Butcher, S. H. Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art. Lond., Macmillan, 1907. 421 p.
13. Charron, Pierre. De La Sagesse. Paris, 1880.
14. Chesterton, Gilbert K. Heretics. Lond., John Lane, 1905. 305 p.
15. Deussen, Paul. Erinnerungen an Friedrich Nietzsche. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1901. 111 p.
16. Diogenes, Laertius. The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers; tr. by C. D. Yonge. Lond., Bohn, 1853. 488 p.
17. Dolson, Grace N. The Philosophy of Nietzsche. N. Y., Macmillan, 1901. 110 p.
18. ——— ———. The influence of Schopenhauer upon Friedrich Nietzsche. Philos. Rev., 1901. Vol. 10, pp. 241-250.
19. Drews, Arthur. Nietzsche's Philosophie. Heidelberg, Winter, 1904. 561 p.
20. Düringer, Adelbert. Nietzsche's Philosophie und das heutige Christentum. Leipzig, Veit, 1907. 152 p.
21. ——— ———. Nietzsche's Philosophie von Standpunkte des modernen Rechts. Leipzig, Veit, 1906. 133 p.
22. Eckermann, J. P. Gespräche mit Goethe; ed. by H. Düntzer. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1899. 3 vols.
23. Engel, E. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Leipzig, Freytag, 1906. 2 vols.
24. Eucken, Rudolf. Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker, 5th ed. Leipzig, Veit, 1904. 523 p.
25. Feuerbach, Ludwig. Das Wesen des Christenthums. Stuttgart, Frommann's, 1903 (Sämmtliche Werke, v. 6). 409 p.
26. Fichte, J. G. System der Sittenlehre nach den Principien der Wissenschaftslehre. Jena, 1798.
27. Fiske, John. Destiny of Man, 9th ed. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 121 p.
28. Förster-Nietzsche, Elizabeth. Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsche's. Leipzig, C. G. Naumann, 1895-1904. 2 vols. in 3.

29. Fouilleé, Alfred. Nietzsche and Darwinism. Internat. Monthly, 1901. Vol. 3, pp. 134-165.
30. —— ——. Nietzsche et L'Immoralisme. 2d ed. Paris, F. Alcan, 1902. 294 p.
31. Francke, Kuno. A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces. 4th ed. N. Y., Holt & Co., 1907. 595 p.
32. Friedmann, Sigismund. Das deutsche Drama des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in seinen Hauptvertretern; tr. by S. Weber. 2d ed. Leipzig, Seemann, 1903. 2 vols.
33. Fuchs, G. F. Friedrich Nietzsche, sein Leben und seine Lehre, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Stellung zum Christentum. 2d. ed. Stutt.» Velser, 1899. 41 p. Zeitfragen des Christ. Volkslebens, 1899. Vol. 22, pt. 8.
34. Gaster, Bernhard. Die deutsche Lyrik in den letzten fünfzig Jahren. Wolfenbüttel, Heckner, 1905. 313 p.
35. Gomperz, Theodor. Greek Thinkers. Lond., John Murray, 1901-1905. 3 vols.
36. Gottschall, Rudolf von. Die deutsche national Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. 7th ed. Breslau, Trewendt, 1901. 2 vols. in 4.
37. Gould, George M. Biographic Clinics. Phila., Blakiston, 1903-1904. 2 vols.
38. Gramzow, Otto. Geschichte der Philosophie seit Kant. Charlottenburg, Georg Bürkner, 1906. 680 p.
39. Guyau, M. J. Esquisse d'une Morale sans Obligation ni Sanction. 5th ed. Paris, Alcan, 1900. 254 p.
40. —— ——. Vers d'un Philosophe. 5th ed. Paris, Alcan, 1906. 212 p.
41. Halévy, Daniel. L'enfance et la Jeunesse de Nietzsche. Rev. de Paris. Vol. 81.
42. Hanstein, Adalbert von. Das Jüngste Deutschland. 3d ed. Leipzig, Voigtlander, 1905. 376 p.
43. Harnack, Adolf. Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. 2d ed. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906. 2 v.
44. Hauptmann. Gerhart, Die Versunkene Glocke. 60th ed. Berlin, Fischer, 1905. 205 p.
45. Heine, Heinrich. Reise von München nach Genua. The passage referred to does not appear in the body of the ordinary text but can be found in the *Lesarten*, in editions that give variant readings.
46. Heyse, Johann Ludwig Paul. Ueber allen Gipfeln. 3d ed. Berlin, Cotta, 1903. 260 p.
47. Hirsch, Wm. Genius and Degeneration; tr. from the second Ger. ed. New York, Appleton, 1896. 333 p.
48. Hobbes, Thomas. Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society. See his *Works;* ed. by Sir Wm. Molesworth, London, Bohn, 1841. Vol. 2.
49. Höffding, Harald. Moderne Philosophen. Leipzig, Reisland, 1905. 217 p.
50. Hölderlin, Friedrich. Der Tod des Empedokles. See Vol. 2 of his Works. Stuttgart, Cotta. [1895.] 2 v.
51. Huneker, James G. Overtones. A Book of Temperaments. N. Y., Scribner, 1904. 335 p.

52. Johnson, Wm. H. Was Paul the Founder of Christianity? Princeton Theol. Rev., 1907. Vol. 5, pp. 398-422.
53. Jordan, David S. The Human Harvest. Boston Amer. Unitarian Assoc., 1907. 122 p.
54. Kalthoff, A. F. Nietzsche und die Kulturprobleme unserer Zeit. Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke, 1900. 329 p.
55. Kant, Immanuel. Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Tugendlehre. See his Sämmtliche Werke. Leipzig, Voss, 1868. V. 7 pp, 175-303.
56. Key, Ellen K. S. The Century of the Child. N. Y., Putnam, 1909. 339 p.
57. Knortz, K. Friedrich Nietzsche und sein Uebermensch. Leipzig, Stern, 1898. 40 p.
58. Kraepelin, Emil. Lectures on Clinical Psychiatry; tr. by T. Johnsstone, Lond., Baillière, 1904. 308 p.
59. Kronenberg, Max. Moderne Philosophen. München, C. H. Beck, 1899. 221 p.
60. Kurtz, J. H. Church History; tr. by J. Macpherson. N. Y., Funk & Wagnalls, 1888. 3 vols.
61. Le Bon, Gustave. L'Homme et les Sociétés. Paris, Rothschild, 1881. 2 vols.
62. Lewes, George H. The History of Philosophy from Thales to Comte. 5th ed. Lond., Longman's, 1880. 2 vols.
63. Lichtenberger, Henri. La Philosophie de Nietzsche. Paris, Alcan, 1900. 195 p.
64. —— ——. Richard Wagner, Poète et Penseur. 3d ed. Paris, Alcan, 1902. 506 p.
65. Mandeville, Bernard. Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices, Publick Benefits, v. 1, 6th ed., v. 2, 2d ed. Tonson, 1732-33, 2 v.
66. Martersteig, Max. Das deutsche Theater im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1904. 735 p.
67. Mauerhof, Emil. Götzendämmerung. Halle, Richard Mühlmann, 1907. 508 p.
68. Meerkerk, J. B. De Starrenborg. Rotterdam, Boogaerdt, 1906.
69. Möbius, Paul J. Ueber das Pathologische bei Nietzsche. *In* Grenzfragen des Nerven und Seelenlebens, 1902. Vol. 3, pp. 1-36.
70. Moeller, Wilhelm. History of the Christian Church, A. D. 1-1600; tr. by A. Rutherfurd. Lond., Sonnenschein, 1902. 3 vols.
71. Montaigne, Essays. Bk. 1, 2d ed., ser. tr. by C. Colton. Lond., Bell, 1892. 3 v.
72. Nägeli, C. Von. Die Schranken der naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntniss. See his Mechanisch-physiologische Theorie der Abstammungslehre. München, R. Oldenbourg, 1884. pp. 555-680.
73. Nietzsche, Friedrich. Werke. Leipzig, C. G. Naumann, 1899-1905. 15 vols.
74. —— ——. Works, ed. by A. Tille. N. Y., Macmillan, 1896-1908. Vols. 8-11.
75. Nordau, Max. Degeneration; tr. fr. 2d Ger. ed. 7th ed. Lond., Heinemann, 1895. 560 p.
76. Oehler, R. Friedrich Nietzsche und die Vorsokratiker. Leipzig, Dürr, 1904. 167 p.
77. Orage, A. R. Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age. Lond., Foulis, 1906. 82 p.
78. Palante, G. Anarchisme et Individualisme; Etude de Psychologie Sociale. Rev. Philos., vol. 63. p. 337-365.

79. Pascal, Blaise. Pensées; ed. by Leon Brunschvicg. Paris, Hachette, 1904. 3 vols.
80. Pater, Walter. The Renaissance; Studies in Art and Poetry. N. Y., Macmillan, 1907. 252 p.
81. Paulsen, Friedrich. A System of Ethics; tr. fr. the 4th Ger. ed. by Frank Thilly. N. Y., Scribner, 1899. 723 p.
82. —— ——. Arthur Schopenhauer: Seine Persönlichkeit und Seine Philosophie. See his *Schopenhauer, Hamlet, Mephistopheles, drei Aufsätze zur Naturgeschichte des Pessimismus*, 2d ed. Stuttgart, Cotta, 1901. 261 p.
83. Peabody, F. G. Jesus Christ and the Christian Character. N. Y., Macmillan, 1905. 304 p.
84. Plato. The Republic; tr. by D. J. Vaughn and J. L. Davies. Lond., Macmillan, 1904. 370 p. (Golden Treasury Ser.)
85. Pratt, Waldo S. The History of Music. N. Y., Schirmer, 1907. 683 p.
86. Pringle-Pattison, A. Seth. The Life and Opinions of Friedrich Nietzsche, see his Man's Place in the Cosmos and Other Essays. 2d ed. Edinb., Blackwood, 1902. pp. 254-319.
87. Riehl, Alois. Zur Einführung in die Philosophie der Gegenwart. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1903. 258 p.
88. —— ——. Friedrich Nietzsche, der Künstler und der Denker. 2d ed. Stuttgart, Frommann, 1898. 132 p.
89. Ritschl, Otto. Nietzsche's Welt—und Lebensanschauung. 2d ed. Freiburg. J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. 107 p.
90. Robertson, John G. History of German Literature. N. Y., Putnam, 1902. 635 p.
91. Saintsbury, George E. B. A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe. 2d ed. N. Y., Dodd, Mead, 1902-1904. 3 vols.
92. Saunders, F. H. and Hall, G. Stanley. Pity. Amer. Jour. of Psy., 1900. Vol. 11, pp. 534-91.
93. Schlaf, Johannes. Der "Fall" Nietzsche; Eine "Überwindung." Leipzig, Thomas, 1907. 330 p.
94. Schopenhauer, Arthur. Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, see his Werke, 2d ed. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1891. Vols. 2-3.
95. Seillière, Ernest. Apollôn ou Dionysos, Étude Critique sur Frédéric Nietzsche et L'Utilarisme Impérialiste. Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1905. 364 p. La Philosophie de L'Imperialisme. Vol. 2.
96. Seth, James. On Certain Alleged Defects in the Christian Morality. Hibbert Jour., 1907. Vol. 6, pp. 101-117.
97. Shaw, Bernard. Man and Superman, a Comedy and a Philosophy. N. Y., Brentano, 1905. 244 p.
98. Steiger, Edgar. Von Hauptmann his Maeterlinck, in his Das Werden des neuen Dramas. Berlin, Fontane, 1903. Vol. 2.
99. Stein, Ludwig. Friedrich Nietzsche's Weltanschauung und ihre Gefahren. Berlin, Reimer, 1893. 103 p.
100. Stirner, Max. Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum. 2d ed. Leipzig, Wigand, 1882. 379 p.
101. Streatfield, R. A. Modern Music and Musicians. N. Y., Macmillan, 1906. 355 p.

102. Tantzscher, Georg. Friedrich Nietzsche und die Neuromantik. Dorpat, J. G. Krüger, 1900. 102 p.
103. Vogt, Friedrich and Koch, Max. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Leipzig, Verlag des bibliographischen Instituts, 1904. 2 vols.
104. Wilbrandt, Adolf Von. Osterinsel, 4th ed. Stuttgart, Cotta, 1902. 443 p.
105. Wundt, Wilhelm. Ethik, 3d ed. rev. Stuttgart, Enke, 1903. 2 vols.
106. Zeller, Eduard. Die Philosophie der Griechen. Leipzig, Fues, 1876-89. 3 vols. in 4.

LITERATURE

La Notion de Valeur; sa nature psychique; son importance en théologie. By GEORGES BERGUER, pp. 1-365. Georg & Co., Genève, 1908.

If this Doctor's Thesis presented to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Geneva deserves the attention of the professional psychologist and of the philosopher, it is chiefly as an excellent illustration of the attitude of French Protestant theologians towards the psychology of religion. It is on that score that I venture to speak of it here. These theologians have become aware of the claim of psychology upon them, but they neither take the trouble of making a systematic study of that science, nor of making first hand investigations of religious experience. With unimportant exceptions, they have been content to make use for their own purposes of the work accomplished by psychologists. Indifference on the part of theologians to positive knowledge is, of course, no novelty.

The attitude of our author is the traditional one. He approaches his problem with a firm belief in the necessity of a personal God for man's salvation and assumes the task of showing that the analyses and the explanations of psychology are insufficient, that the direct intervention of God is required. So that, despite its title, and its first part — a general discussion of the theory of value — the book may fairly be looked upon as an effort to so limit the field of the psychology of religion as to place essential Christian dogmas beyond its reach. With regard to conversion, for instance, the author's purpose is to show that that transformation is the fruit of the Living God, Holy and Almighty.

In the first part, "The essential nature of value and its criterium" (pp. 15-184), two important propositions are set down. (1) Psychology can take cognizance of the obligatory character of moral obligation, but cannot explain it. (2) The chief characteristics of that experience, namely the sense of liberty and of dependence, imply necessarily the action of a personal will acting upon the human person (p. 135). This unwarranted proposition constitutes one of the turning points of the argument.

In the second part, "Critical study of a religious experience [conversion] with regard to the role played in it by the sense of value" (pp. 185-294) an attempt is made to conform, in a somewhat detailed examination of published studies on conversion, to confirm or verify the conclusions of the first part. The author labors to establish that in order to account for that momentous experience, one must push beyond psychology and have recourse to "intuition." Psychology uncovers only the "mechanical processes." No one will find it difficult to admit, as a general proposition, that psychology does not explain everthing; that, its work done, there remains a residuum. But the student of the psychology of religion will want to know what this residuum is and, moreover, how it is to be explained, if explained at all. At this crucial point Dr. Berguer's effort is, to my mind, a complete failure. He had already singled out, in the first part, the sense of obligation and of independence as characteristics calling for a transpsychological explanation. Now, in dealing with conversion, he finds that the feature differentiating it from other transformations

otherwise similar, is that the conversion-transformation possesses a final, absolute, value (p. 226). This feature, we are told, is not explained by psychology, neither can that science find the cause of the transformation it is able to describe. The essence of the preparation for conversion in the subconscious part of our being is the transference of the impression of value from a certain group of objects to another (p. 228). This, as well as the crisis itself, is said to be unintelligible to science.

That which psychology is said not to be able to explain in the conversion-transformation, is, then, the sense of absolute obligation, the sense of independence, perhaps the sense of passivity, the changes in the value attributed to various objects of experience (changes taking place subconsciously), the final and permanent character of the transformation. These characteristics indicate, according to our author, the intervention in the humain subconscious of one who has a right to act in us, independently of us. Redemption appears to him as a gigantic effort attempted by God in behalf of sinners, towards the re-establishment of the normal values (p. 271).

I shall limit myself to the following critical remarks.

The question of the explanatory value of psychology and of its bearing upon theology is badly in need of a thoroughgoing discussion. In this book the term explanation is used with a meaning neither sufficiently definite nor sufficiently extensive.

The final explanation in which the author finds satisfaction, is hardly worthy of a philosopher. "God," used as in this book, is a convenient word put in the place of an explanation. It is on a par with the procedure of the non-plussed believer who, in despair, bows before the authority of the Church.

A more adequate understanding of the nature and of the province of psychology would have saved the author from the surprising and disastrous belief that he was passing beyond the pale of psychology when, in order to try and fill the gaps left by science, he attempted, as he thought, "a more subjective and consequently less scientific study of conversion," "by means of an analysis as faithful as possible of intimate experience" (p. 228). This analysis brought out, it is needless to say, nothing that is foreign to psychology.

With regard to the pivotal doctrine that the sense of absolute obligation, allied to the feeling of freedom, implies the action of a divine personal will upon the human will, I shall only say here that a more adequate acquaintance with psychology would have made him realize how superfluous is the claim of that implication.

James H. Leuba, Bryn Mawr College.

The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion. By James H. Leuba. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1909. 95 p. (Religions Ancient and Modern.)

This little book, the last of a series of small volumes, each containing an exposition by a recognized authority of one of the many religions the world has known, might perhaps as well have been put first as it deals with origins. The writer treats of the fundamental nature of religion, differentiates three types of behavior, discusses the origin of the ideas of ghosts, nature beings and gods; then passes to magic which is classified, its relations to true religion, and magic and the origin of science; then takes up the original emotion of primitive religious life, with concluding remarks on the nature and function of religion. The book throughout shows wide reading, very careful thought, and in doing what he attempts within

the narrow and difficult limits imposed upon him, has created a little masterpiece. But those who have followed at all his own work for now these many years and have wished that he would put down and sum up his own conclusions thus far in a book, will be disappointed, for this is not that book. Instead of the fresh, original, and extremely suggestive quality which has characterized most of the best of his own special contributions, we have here a guarded and sometimes rather tedious qualification of an American scholar writing at Oxford, in a way that suggests that he must have been somewhat intimidated by the atmosphere of detailed erudition that surrounded him. The origin of religion is, to be sure, not a theme calculated to bring out originality; and we note that the author has here not recognized what the writer believes to be a source of insight into his theme comparable with the study of primitive religions, viz., the religion of childhood. Has not the time now fully come when scholars can and should frankly recognize this new contingent of knowledge and utilize the child as a key for understanding the history of the race wherever this can be done? We cannot avoid raising the query whether in this work the author does not show signs of having grown distrustful of his own native intuitions and whether he is not in danger of losing the freshest and most original and now most greatly needed source of insight, viz., independent communion with his own soul.

The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities, by Louis H. Jordan, in collaboration with Baldassare Lablanc. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, Edinburgh, 1909. 324 p.

It is indeed very striking that, in all the seventeen universities of Italy, there is almost no provision made, and has not been, for the study of religion. This seems to be due to the fact that the authorities which control higher education have been so reactionary to Catholic influences that religion itself, even its psychology, has fallen into disrepute. This author well urges that this is most unfortunate, that it is an unwise policy for the government itself, that it is pouring out the child with the bath, that, even for the interests of liberalism, ample recognition should have been provided for a pure and rational instruction in this field.

True Hinduism. Part the First. First Steps in the Yoga of Action. By Rama Prasad. Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras, S. India. 259 p.

True Hinduism, we are told, is the true religion of humanity. Our books and teachers consider the ideal man, and in the plane of religious philosophy all men are equal and there is a complete brotherhood of all races, creeds, sexes, castes and colors. Various restraints by which man ascends are described and various faults which cause injury to self and others are characterized. The five observances and stages of Yoga and how to practise them are described. The author's ideal is to present a complete *vade mecum* of attainment of the goal of life, which is self-realization of the divine and attainment of unity in it or him.

System des Religiösen Materialismus. I. Wissenschaft der Seele; II. Wissenschaft der Gesinnungen; III. Wissenschaft Gottes. Von H. Thoden Van Velzen. A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, Leiden, 1909. 3 v.

These three imposing volumes treat first, sense images and their influence, ideas and their influence, feeling ideas, similarity and difference of our psychic activities, appearances in our activity and their origin, the soul, death—these con-

stitute the science of the soul. The second volume is on the science of *Gesinnung*, and the first part treats of our ideas of love and hate, wisdom and folly, freedom and necessity, right and wrong, on the differences and similarities of these ideas, general notions of morality, the revelation of ideas and their results, relations between the state and the church, matter and force. The third volume is entitled "The Science of God." It treats Kant's proof of his existence, with a criticism of the same, and is chiefly devoted to the science of God, with refutation of objections and the relation between God and immortality.

Le Discernment du Miracle, par P. Saintyves. Emile Nourry, Paris, 1909. 357 p.

By miracles we acquire a rather sudden plain conviction of the great importance of some event that brings us nearer to the source of nature. It is, as it might be called, an invention of Providence to surprise us into appreciation. If we admit a personal God, we cannot deny the possibility of miracles. The student of history can record what he believes happened but must refer to philosophy or science or theology. Neither of these, however, give the final verdict. The religious man can accept a miracle and remain intellectually respectable, if he realizes that the proof of it rests on his own individual sentiment, as it does. Abuse of zeal in this field does more to destroy than to build up the religious edifice.

Studies in Mystical Religion, by Rugus M. Jones. Macmillan & Co., London, 1909. 518 p.

The main approaches to the meaning of religion are through the nature of the soul of man, although this inner way must not exclude other methods. There have always been mystics. In all his work, this author desires to advance the plans of his dear deceased friend, J. W. Rowntree, who was writing the history of Quakerism, treating it as an experiment in mystical religion. Each felt his work converge toward the same end; and this author has enlarged the scope of his own work to include that of his friend. These studies are genuine labors of love, and are of profound interest and value to students of religious psychology. The very topics will show this: the nature and value of first-hand experience in religion; the mystical element in primitive Christianity; its organization in the earlier church; Montaignism as a return to prophecy; roots of mysticism in classical literature; Dionysius the Areopagite; a great light in the dark ages; a Scotus Erigena; the Waldenses and the anti-sacerdotal sect; St. Francis and the spiritual Franciscans; a group of pantheistic mystics; brotherhood groups in the thirteenth century; Eckart; the friends of God; brethren of the common life; before the Reformation in England; Wyclif and the Lollards; the Anabaptists; the family of love; the seekers and the ranters; individual mystics in the field of the English commonwealth. Such a work as this is not only a contribution of great timeliness in these days when the thoughts of scholarly men are turning perhaps as not before for centuries toward religion, but will go far to give mysticism, of which perhaps Quakerism is the best American illustration, a standing even at the bar of science.

Is Immortality Desirable? by G. Lowes Dickinson. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1909. 63 p. Price, 75c.

The writer has described three classes of people: those who never think about immortality either way, which he thinks by far the largest class, except perhaps in certain great crises of life. They may have a conventional belief, but it cannot comfort them. This class would be illustrated by one who said: "Of course,

if you press me, I believe that we shall all enter into eternal bliss; but I wish you would not talk about such disagreeable subjects." Osler's record of five hundred death-beds showed that the great majority of people gave no sign of hope or fear, but, like their birth, their death was a sleep and a forgetting. Secondly, others rather fear immortality, and prefer oblivion and repose to continued existence. Metchnikoff thinks all would do so if they lived out their full span of years. Some positively crave extinction and would learn that they must survive death with despair. The desirability of a future life, of course, depends upon its character. Thirdly, there are those who want it. Probably they would not desire to go on forever with all their infirmities nor to repeat without variation this life, unless memory were extinguished, as Nietzsche in his doctrine of eternal recurrence thinks it is. Perhaps, were this the case, most would desire to have this repeated as often as possible rather than to occur once and never again. Immortality can only be valuable for valuable lives. Perhaps most would resign heaven, if they could only have it on condition of others enduring hell; while to others the great satisfaction of a belief in immortality is that the bad or our enemies will burn forever. Punishment of crime they think is a transcendent good. Few intelligent people look forward with real satisfaction to the traditional heaven. The object of this desire is generally unknown. At best we feel something in us making for a larger, fuller life, and all pain is a frustration of this soul development. We do not know ultimate good. The real heaven is always beyond; but we want to cut the hawsers and cast off, going on where no man ever dared to go. It helps to live in our posterity. If the soul is a mere substauce, which cannot be destroyed at death but with no consciousness, there is little comfort. The survival of such a substance would hardly be desirable. It is necessary for the survivor to know that he is the same person that survives. As continuity of experience, it is desirable. The psychic researches have not yet proven anything, but perhaps have made it incumbent to take up their hypothesis by new methods. We might survive and not be immortal. Pre-existence helps. Some silly people give themselves airs, because they believe in immortality; but this faith should be accepted in silence. Goethe said that the coffin could not impose on him, that he did not object to another life, only he hoped that he should not meet there any who here believed in it, and described how the saints would flock around and taunt him that they were right and knew. Immortality is for the leisure class.

Resurrectio Christi. ANON. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, 1909. 127 p. Price 3s. 6d.

The writer here undertakes to apply some of the results of psychic research to the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus. He concludes that although we know little of the psychology of crowds, if the Lord had ever meant to clothe the Holy Spirit with material form, the expectant hush of the Upper Chamber was His great opportunity to do so. The inner reality of any Christophanic experience is a revelation of the mind of Christ. The psychical force already displayed in the universal Christophany was enormous and this group of some seventy persons presented the most favorable conditions under which this might be realized. The resurrection happened on Jewish soil, exactly where we should expect the recollections of the experiences of the five hundred would have survived. It is a little difficult from the author's terminology to make out what he does conclude from all his study of the apocryphal New Testament and other sources; but it would

seem to be that the resurrection was a veridical hallucination or perhaps, if we might use a term borrowed from Freud, it would be a social illusion accepted and sublimated.

The Psychology of Prayer. By ANNA LOUISE STRONG. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 122 p.

We have long heard of the efficacy of prayer but we have not yet been informed why we are impelled to pray. We are told religion belongs to the social aspect of our existence. "It is relation to some other," This work grows out of a shorter article by the author in June, 1906, on "The Relation of the Subconscious to Prayer," published in this Journal, In the first chapter the author discusses the essentially social character of the self. She then takes up the undiscriminating forms of prayer as found in the child and the primitive man, then the intermediate types with the growth of discrimination, then the completely social type of prayer. In this she finds two tendencies, the contemplative and the æsthetic on the one hand, and the practical or ethical on the other. The last chapter treats the type of reality and the objective reverence involved in prayer. In the treatment of this subject the author has gone her "ain gait," and her rubrics and schematizations are far too much in evidence. Her point of view is more philosophical than psychological and her distinctions often seem either rather forced or overdone.

The Truth and Error of Christian Science, by M. CARTA STURGE. John Murray, London, 1908. 185 p.

This writer has studied Christian Science for ten years, has read much and known its followers, so that her criticism is not a hasty expression of dissent but the result of a sympathetic effort to understand and appreciate it. Much space is of course given to exposition of the doctrines. The general conclusion is that "what there is of truth in the teaching of Christian Scientists is nothing new but the revivifying of truths which breathe through every line of the Gospels, the Epistles, and the teachings of Christianity, but which we have failed to take as literally as they do."

The author regrets that these Scientists have made themselves into a religion. Their errors and absurdities are, on the whole, rather well pointed out.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson and others. Vol. IV, Draeseke-Goa. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1909. 500 p.

This fourth volume of a work to be complete in twelve takes us down to "Goa." As far as we have looked over this volume it seems to be fully up to the level of the improvements of those that have preceded it.

Das Religiöse Wunder und anderes, drei Vorträge, von MARTIN RADE. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1909. 87 p.

This pamphlet contains three lectures. The first only is devoted to the religious miracle; the second treats of missions to the heathen in the history of religion; and the third of the power-state, just-state, and culture-state (Machtstaat, Rechtsstaat, und Kulturstaat).

THE AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY
AND EDUCATION

VOLUME 4 JULY, 1911 No. 3

THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS AND ITS MEANING FOR THE MODERN MIND:

A STUDY IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JESUS

BY F. T. MAYER-OAKES, M. A., PH. D.
Fellow in Clark University.

"He not only claims authority for himself, he denies the authority of the constituted authorities to judge his claims. The question of authority in the Kingdom of God is a question of fitness, the ability to do the thing."

"Men felt in his first words the note of authority."

"He was the Son of Man, whose life was bound up with the life of the world, who was identified with Humanity.''

"His own righteousness was the foundation of his authority.''

"He was a Man who loved men supremely, to whom any evil or lack was known so surely and felt so deeply, and to whom in his own death was revealed the whole depth and bitterness of that human ill which was to find its only cure in him." (E. P. Gould, in his St. Mark.)

"Religion, after all, must be judged in connection with its applicability to man." (M. Jastrow, Jr.)

"For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes." (St. Mark.)

All life is useless, and no life possesses any value unless it is moved by a motive force and a directive factor different from itself and above itself, which in all its efforts attempts activities higher than itself and of better quality. This is the paradox of life brought to us through the Man who lived in and loved the hill

country of his birth, in whom the world has seen not only pure living, but the truly human life, the culmination of the evolutional ideal of human life. And such a paradox is more or less clearly hinted at by Dr. Greville MacDonald in his "The Religious Sense in Its Scientific Aspect,"[1] in his lecture on the 'The Religion of Service.' The modern doctrine of evolution, as applied by many teachers of psychology and biology, very readily lends itself to the support of this view of life. The deeper and greater knowledge of biology and psychology, supported by the evidences of paleontology, affords a basis for a doctrine of life built on this paradox. The Amœba must become extinct if it have not the capacity to realize the evolutional purpose of life by producing something greater than itself in the act of rejuvenation. And in the seed life of other animalcules, the perpetuation of the species by fission is an example of the lowly forms of life realizing this instinctive purpose of the power of life.

There will yet come a time when the idea of this doctrine will be more universally accepted, and it will then become the greater law in ethics by which men will be measured and lined up. The religious institutions of the day will be drawn into the vortex of such a movement and they will become more Christo-centric and less ecclesia-centric. While it is recognized that the life that is continued without a purpose can amount to very little, it will be more widely recognized that such purposeless lives can be transformed and made into passionately purposeful lives in which the great master passion of the soul will be to enter into the secrets of knowledge intensely human on the one hand, and supremely divine on the other ——— then shall the divine purpose be made known and the dealings of the human heart understood; then shall such be recognized as they who speak with authority and power; their lives are lived in an atmosphere which is authoritative because it is powerful; their hearers and listeners confessing that they speak with authority and with power, and not in the cold, monotonous tones of the mere professional religionist. It will not, I think, be impertinent, at this point, to remark that if the biography of the late Mrs. Palmer

[1]G. Macdonald: 'The Religious Sense in Its Scientific Aspect.' London, 1903. pp. 3-77.

so appreciatingly and truly recorded by her husband, has any distinct message to the present day, it lies in the fact of the power that this simple and great woman wielded over all alike because of her living in the midst of a set of circumstances made to minister to her highest, and of this best in her own sweet life, she gave unstintingly to all whom she could thus lift up from a lower to a higher level. Then, too, the sacred narrative gives us the picture of its central figure as being eaten up in a holy passion and purpose to accomplish the divine will and meet the truest and deepest needs of the soul of man. This sanctified passion clarified his vision and quickened his own heart and prepared him to understand the two great elements that go into the making of the truest human life, viz., the divine and the human. It was because he understood this double fact so perfectly that he lived so powerfully and effectually among those few who were peculiarly his own, and were to be the early foundation of the great superstructure that was to be built on the residue of his life: yes, even so powerfully among his fellow countrymen that they felt in his words the note of unapologetic authority.[1]

Fortunately or unfortunately the picture and conception of Jesus in art and literature is, and has been one that is far from being satisfactory to either the psychologist or the anthropologist. One great factor that must be reckoned with in any study of the psychology of Jesus is the fact that neither psychologists nor yet anthropologists will be satisfied with accepted portraits of him in art, or the conceptions of him in theology. This will mean that absolute reconstruction will have to take place in conceiving of Jesus, both physically and psychically. It is only a too regrettable fact that the sacred literature of the apostolic and sub-apostolic times is exceedingly poor in references either to his person or personality[2] and even the literature professing to give us his portraits

[1]E. P. Gould: St. Mark, Inter. Crit. Comm. Edin., and N. Y. 1897. Intro. p. xxxi.

[2]G. B. Foster: The Finality of the Christian Religion, Chicago, 1909, chap. 8, p. 325, where speaking on the Problem and Personality of Jesus, he dwells with a sarcastic touch, unnecessarily too, upon the scarcity of authentic, *i. e.*, original material in the sources of Jesus' life. This fact is, of course, recognized by all N. T. scholars, but it rests in peace until the work of the Archæologist shall be fortunate to make a find of other material than we have at present in the canonical and extra-canonical literature.

affords scant material that would give the anthropologist any satisfaction in determining what kind of a man he was physically — while of course they (the Gospels and Epistles) abound in material that provides a field, hardly yet touched, by which the psychologist can get a view of his personality and determine with more or less accuracy and assurance the kind of a personality he had.

By *a priori* methods the anthropologist must satisfy himself that Jesus, considered merely as human, was much more a man than has been generally conceded; that he was a man of somewhat extraordinary physique as well as intellectual power—notwithstanding the biting sarcasm and the railing unreasonableness of M. Bene-Senglie in his "La Folie de Jésus."

In acquainting ourselves with those people who have been leaders—both in historical and contemporary times, we find them to have been and to be men of usually commanding stature and appearance, so as to be at once both attractive and commanding, pleasant and confidence provoking; their face possessing a more or less fascinating countenance; and their activities commensurate with their purposes and passionating ideal. In a book of singular worth and felicity, treating of a theme of perennial interest to those who would accomplish something in their life, and a book that will be referred to again, Bishop C. H. Brent, of the Philippines, in describing a leader, says: The ease with which he leads is largely dependent upon the difference in stature and in the power of the vision between himself and the crowd. . . . He may not have conspicuous talent or high genius, but he seeks out their undeveloped capacity and makes it hungry for self-expression; he is the essential force that focuses in a common purpose their energies:—he becomes to them what motive is to personality, in fact he gives to the masses coherence, vivid and individual, a genuine personality. . . . The essential contrast between a demagogue and a leader is that in a demagogue we have a case of arrested development, and an imperfect vision—while in the leader we have a constantly developing personality in reaching a clearly outlined goal.[1] And Professor Francis G. Peabody suggests that "it would be of extraordinary interest if we might (in the first place) picture to

[1] *Cf.* C. H. Brent: Leadership. N. Y., 1910, pp. 13-15, 17.

ourselves the external appearance and physical traits of Jesus. The simple record, however, offers practically no material for the reproduction of face or form. It is indeed reported, not without great suggestiveness, that the first impression of his teaching was for the moment created, not so much by its contents, striking as they were, as by the demeanor and personality of the teacher. 'He taught as one having authority,' is the first comment of the narrator.''[1] We have no reason, whatever, for conceiving of Jesus as a puny, weak, or peculiarly feminine figure,[2] nor yet possessing a countenance so vague and ill defined as that shown in so many portraits—which lack expression of either sorrow or glory, of conquest or defeat. Rather, I think, we should be more justified in conceiving of him as a man who walked the hill and dales, the streets and lanes, and visited the synagogues and the temple *as one who was deeply conscious of the supreme mission of God in him.* "He lived and had his being in sacred writings, but not after the manner of the professional teachers. . . . He lived in religion,'' continues this author, "and it was breath to him in the fear of God,'' and he lived in the consciousness of God's presence. His food and drink was to do God's will.[3] So that in him we find a man who knew his relation with the Infinite Spirit beyond doubt, and who accounted for his own place in the cosmos of beings as being "created a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor," who walked and talked, lived and wrought, and died as one conscious of his royalty with the great I AM, and to whom the world was his rightful estate and his work the effort to bring all men into touch with their heavenly Father and into their own rightful inheritance and

[1]F. G. Peabody: Jesus Christ and the Christian Character. N. Y., 1905, p. 40-41.

[2]In the light of renewed anthropological studies being carried on at the present day, it is interesting to note that many are following the line of H. Ellis, who holds that, if the child approximates the evolutional ideal for the Race, and woman approximates the child more than man, the postulate that the feminine type is more nearly the evolutional type, then there is some ground of justification on the part of those who have conceived of Jesus as that peculiarly sweet mixture of masculine, feminine, and childlikeness in their portraiture of this character. *Cf.* Havelock Ellis', Man and Woman. London, 1904.

[3]A. Harnack: What is Christianity? Trans, N. Y., pp. 32, 34-35, 36, 38.

estate. He lived and wrought manifesting the ever deepening truth that willed action is the language of noble men, and that strong men are free—free because they are strong, and strong because they are free. Never, I think, have we an account in pre-Christian literature conserved to us of any man such as is given to us in the brief and terse sentences in two places. "This Man speaketh with authority, and not as the scribes' . . . at least not in the importance of its bearing on the problem of personality as is shown in this instance of the spontaneous outburst of Jesus' lowly (?) contemporaries. Truly Professor E. P. Gould remarks "Men felt in his first words the note of authority'[1] No one can read the Gospels, our only present sources, outside the incidental references in some of the Pauline Epistles, for an authoritative life of Jesus, without feeling that this confession of authority is pre-eminently true in the realm of the moral, *i. e.*, ethical, and spiritual life of the race; and it would be true and the only conclusion that we could arrive at aside from the evangelical statement. *Jesus lived, lived among the people whom he touched at all points, and touching them healed them and helped them.* Because he had done this, for them his authority was sealed and certified. The woman, of whom we read as having an issue of blood, came to touch his garment, being assured that even such an act on her part, in him, would prove efficacious, and restorative to her. Not only did the woman prove his power, which was the equivalent of his authority, but we are told that Jesus was conscious himself of power having gone out of him to her, the touch brought relief to her,—ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσιν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ, and from him went power—the seal of his authority for her and those who had witnessed the act.

My aim in this paper, is to analyze this character in reference only to this aspect of the man of Galilee, leaving all attempts at theologizing alone, nor yet attempting anything of a description of his teachings in the sense of formulating a theology of the New Testament; and then, in brief synthesis indicate its meaning and significance for the modern mind. We must not forget, however, in this consideration that we are dealing primarily with the ethical significance rather than metaphysical or epistemological—from

[1]E. P. Gould: *op. cit., in loco.*

each of which fields we may draw our illustrations if needed. "The whole earthly career of Jesus Christ was the incorporation of his teaching in life and action. His ethical principles constitute a coherent whole, but they are not a cunningly devised system put together by reflection. They are a series of genial intuitions, that flow spontaneously from a living personality whose meaning and the secret of whose influence they do not exhaust. As we study them, these ethical or spiritual intuitions lead us back to him, and indeed, they seem but the causal utterances of a spirit so infinitely rich and full that we cannot comprehend it in the mystery of its strength and beauty, but that we grow more fully as we endeavor to live out the promptings. Hence the *living* and perennial *power* of Jesus as an ethical teacher. Many philosophical systems of ethics seem to be more rigorous and systematically complete than his; but, perhaps, in part, for this very reason they one and all lack the touch of life and the power of expansion."[1] "The moral foundations of civilization find their highest interpretation and illumination, as well as, motive power, in the teachings and work of Jesus and in the moral life that has historically issued from his life."[2]

1 The Reason of His Authority.

When we try to analyze what is really involved in the confession of Jesus' contemporaries which attributes to him this authority in the realm of morals and chiefly the spiritual, in order to determine such an attribute, it seems to me that we cannot find it in any other way than the impression given us from reading the Gospels that give us the human picture of Jesus, as he walked and talked with men and women.

(a) The Jews, at this time, present us with a specific instance of an aggregate of souls searching for a new interpretation of life in reference both to its first great cause and its ultimate meaning, then to God, their Jehovah Jah—an interpretation at once different from and more vital than that given by the professional religious

[1]Leighton, J. A.: Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-day. N. Y., 1907, p. 166.

[2]*Ibid., in loco*, p. 175.

teachers of his day, for they spoke only with authority that came from tradition. "The scribes spake BY authority, resting all they said on traditions of what had been said before. Jesus spake WITH authority, out of his own soul, with direct intuition of the truth; and, therefore, to the answering soul of his hearers. The people could not quite explain the difference, but that was what they obscurely felt."[1] In other words they were a really soul hungry people, dying for a revival of the enthusisam which came from the early national theocratic ideal of their forefathers, and all these professional teachers—the scribes and the Pharisees, miserably failed to speak to them in the terms of the soul's need, until Jesus came and proclaimed his ministry of repentance and faith: and we find him at all times speaking in the terms of the soul's needs. "Jesus spake *with authority in the matters of conduct and life,* but the authority is not the external constraint of an institution or an organization, nor the dogmatism of a cut-and-dried system that chills the spirit and fetters the reason. His moral authority is that of a perfect life, which, as we submit to its influences, arouses an answering witness in our hearts and wins our consent with the personal conviction that in the company of this life our own personalities are coming to their own, are ever growing in harmony and peace, and in the fellowship of the life divine and immortal: the life in which man truly finds himself at home in the cosmos because his soul has broken its local and temporary fetters and through entrance upon a new humanity, is become one with God."[2]

It is not necessarily the keen logic used by Darwin in his "Origin of Species" and in his "Descent of Man" that convinces the man of less intellectual and scientific ability, with less patience and perseverance in waiting on nature, that the conclusions that he—Darwin—reaches is right, but rather the fact that by patiently waiting on nature, he learned to perceive her subtle workings, which, to less observing minds were unnoticeable; and somehow he had come to be pretty well saturated with the sweetness of such

[1]A. B. Bruce: St. Matt. Expositors Greek Testament. London, 1903, Vol. 1,. p. 136.

[2]P. T. Forsyth: The Person and Place of Jesus Christ. Boston, 1909, p. 177.

laws and in them found his joy and delight.... And when he spoke to others his interpretations and illustrations of their workings out in the life of the animal and plant world, they accepted the generality of the truths of such a message. It appealed to us in our desire to arrive at an understanding of the origin of things and the laws of development and growth from the simple to the complex in organic life; they filled the demand made by our intellect and satisfied our reason. In such a manner, somehow, because Jesus had waited patiently and listened intently to the pulsating needs of the human heart and the divine desire, and after he had arrived at the unshakable convictions, born of experience rich and varied doubtless, at the time that he began his public ministry: when he uttered his first words on returning to the people after his forty days fasting solitude and sojourn in the wilderness, they listened to him and heard him because his voice was the sound for which their souls had been patiently listening above the false sounds of the commands of a mechanical morality and a stereotyped religion of the professional religionists of their day, which consisted in the barest externals of life, so justly derogated by Christ at a later period in his ministry. It was a voice which aroused in their hearts an answering witness and which almost instantly won their consent with the personal conviction that in the company of this life their own would grow into harmony and peace with God and their souls find rest in Him, because being one with Him. When Jesus came forth from his wilderness sojourn and trial, it is said of him that "from that time forth began Jesus to preach and say Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and they seemed to be instinctively satisfied that indeed a "greater one had come" and they heard him. If we read the account of Jesus' life and doings according to the Petrine tradition preserved to us in the Gospel of Mark, we cannot help but see in all his intense activities, where we see him so largely as a master over the laws of disease—that the common people, unsophisticated in intellect, simple in faith but nevertheless intense in their hunger for the best mode of moral living, saw back of the mastery of Jesus over the merely physical and read into his actions and abilities the power of helping them correct their soul's diseases. In the first chapter of this record we read that at the close of a strenuous day on Jesus' part the people came to him and brought

those who were κακῶς ἔχονας καὶ τοῦς δαιμονιζομένους and he healed them καὶ ἐθέραπευσεν. Here we are led to believe (without going into points of textual criticism or technical exegesis) that it was not the diseases of the flesh merely οἱ νόσαι τῆς σαρκῆς, but went back of the physical or the bodily infirmity, and typified weakness of the soul (κακῶς κ. τ. δαιμονιζομένους as contrasted with ἀσθένης). And this view is sustained in the following expressive stanzas, whichhave voiced the hearty sentiments of many modern Christians.

"At even, e'er the sun was set
The sick, O Lord, around Thee lay:
O in what divers pains they met!
O with what joy they went away!

Once more 't is eventide, and we
Oppressed with various ills draw near.
What if Thy form we cannot see,
We know and feel that Thou art near.

O Saviour Christ! Thou too art man:
Thou hast been troubled, tempted, tried:
Thy kind but searching glance can scan
The very wounds that shame would hide.

Thy touch has still its ancient power;
No word from Thee can fruitless fall;
Hear in this solemn evening hour,
And in Thy mercy heal us all."

Jesus recognized the need of the soul of man in its intense and oftentimes agonized longing for freedom from the tyranny of the ceremonial and keeping the external of life clean when the inside was a stagnant, foul, and putrefying mass; he too recognized their holy aspiration towards God if perchance He could be brought to their consciousness as one more nigh and intimate than a mere Master Mechanic and correct His faulty work as shown in their own moral and spiritual weakness.

We find that all of Jesus' activities are stamped with unmistakable signs and tokens of his conscious ability to meet this need; and it is in the acknowledgment of this fact that he brought the remedy for their need that we find an added reason for the total reasonableness for his authority in the realm of life and action.[1]

[1]*Cf.* Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 60. "He feels the power of the Saviour within him. He knows that progress is possible only by overcoming weakness and healing

"What enables men to recognize Jesus as what he is, and so to acknowledge his authority, is a need in their nature or state which he can supply. It is to see in him the living bread, the living water, the light of the world, and the Giver of life. These are ideas or experiences which are relative to universal human needs, and therefore universally intelligible; every one who knows what it is to be hungry, thirsty, forlorn, in the dark, dead, knows how to appreciate Jesus; and apart from these experiences no cleverness in applying prophetic or other theological signs to him is of any value. All this is strictly relevant, for it is through experiences in which we become debtors to Jesus for meat and drink, for light and life, that we become conscious of his authority.'"[1] He called men to him with the promise that they likewise, under his care and instruction, should go out into the world of life and call others to him and to peace with God, even as they had been called to fellowship with him and peace with God and renewed heart-life.

It seems to me to be a very significant thing that in the logic of the late Cardinal Newman we have a very similar line of approach to a philosophy of life and God that Jesus had, but with this difference, that with Jesus, the line was perceived intuitively, while with Newman it was reached by the cold avenues of unaided (?) reason. Newman always came back to the wayward and suffering humanity. Jesus never left his hand off the parts of human experience. He saw that men were actuated in life largely by the *incubus, fear*—the working of the not-self upon the self. He recognized this not-self as God. But on every hand he saw signs of the incompatibilities, calamities, sickness, suffering, poverty. And he found the way of escape in his own person. Unlike the intellectual enquiry of Newman, because he had no need for such processes, he transcended them so far intuitively yet perfectly. The natural intellect of the natural man runs amuck and breaks down in trying to find this way of escape. And when once it has run amuck, it is like a mad dog—it dies or must be shot. It is notable that the

disease—yet he goes farther. Not only is it by his healing, but above and beyond all, by his forgiving men's sins, that the Kingdom of God comes."

[1]J. Denny: Authority of Jesus, Hasting's Dict. Ch. and G. Edin, 1907, Vol. 1, p. 151a & b.

greatest intellect in English thought in the eighteenth century, Dean Swift, came to an untimely end; and Frederick Nietzsche died in early life bereft of reason. It would seem as though Jesus recognized the liability of such happenings and straightway brought in the way of escape by the way of heaven, *i. e.*, by revelation, and such revelation was the fact of the nearness of the kingdom of God[1] which their souls were to find rest in. Newman, likewise, by his logic of escape[2] found such escape by way of the Church of Rome, and through the medium of Christ's vicar-general—the Pope.

Humanity everwhere is one and Jesus' message assumed the ability to suit the real need of humanity—clime, color, and tongue everywhere under the heavens; his revelation, therefore, was a universal one, and this was his way of escape for the suffering, sorrowing humanity. He taught men how to believe and be convinced of the truth that things will be righted in heaven; and earthly yoking with God's purposes would lighten their way—give strength for the needy hour—joy for the sadness and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. In a careful analysis Harnack says "Christianity is an example of a great power valid not for one particular epoch alone. . . . It is a question of LIFE, again and again kindled afresh and now burning with a flame of its own. . . . It would seem as though Christ was convinced that the truth he was speaking concerning God and Man, would in the ages to come, have a greater density and deeper meaning than was possible in his own day. And so it was. He trusted its spirit to lead its followers from one point of light to another and develop greater forces in individual lives. . . . . Individual religious life was what he wanted to kindle and what he did kindle; it is, as we shall see, his peculiar greatness to have led men to God, so that they may thenceforth live their own life in Him."[3]

In speaking of Jesus, the Essence of the Christian Religion,[4] Professor George B. Foster remarks that "a religion for the whole

[1]*Cf.* The Divinity of Jesus, by Authors of Progressive Orthodoxy. Boston, 1893, pp. 137 *et seq.*

[2]*Cf.* J. H. Newman, Apologia pro Vita Sua. London, 1897.

[3]A. Harnack: What is Christianity? N. Y., pp. 10-11.

[4]G. B. Foster: The Finality of the Christian Religion. Chicago, 1909.

world must be made by the whole world, just as it is true that the individual recapitulates the race, he must make it, or embody it in himself." Whether it is true or not that "to awaken faith, to supply certainty to an awakened faith'' is the end of the evangelists, it remains true that authority was claimed for him, Jesus, before the evangelists were thought of. And it is true that Jesus came to his people to awaken faith and supply certainty for the awakened faith, and that certainty was found in their new view of God and heaven and their relation to Him and it. The content of religious faith is NOT exposed to any peril from historical criticism. "Nothing concerning Jesus," continues Foster "of which critical inquiry can make us uncertain is the object of religious faith. The spirit and ideals and forces and values of Jesus' life are what make him to speak with and be an authority to all who came under his influence." In the human Jesus we have an expression of God (Heb. 1:1-11). In Jesus, God has come nearer to humanity than ever before. He has touched it in him, and in him we can feel the pulsating throb of the heart of God. In speaking of Christianity, one writer has characteristically described it as being "eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God. It is no ethical or social arcanum for the preservation or improvement of things generally. . . '' it is a religion which "does nor exist for itself alone, but lives in an inner fellowship with all the activities of the mind and with moral and economical conditions as well."[1] It was this vital force that Jesus came to put into the life of men, touching them in the total fabric of their life, and this product of his coming constitutes the corollary of his life.

(b) In this religion Jesus brought the answer to the needs of man's heart, by bringing them into this way of escape which he would attribute to the not-self-(God) as being greater and far more transcending in the compassion which the self (his own limited individuality) could have for the race—or the way of escape that he in his limitations could plan. The surcease of all their sufferings was to be gained in the entrance into the heavenly kingdom here and now—for this end did Jesus come forth preaching its nearness—even at hand (ἤγγικεν) as the narrator expresses it in Jesus'

[1]A. Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 8.

speech (Mk. 1:15). In speaking of Jesus, Harnack says that "Jesus Christ calls to every poor soul; he calls to every one who bears a human face; you are children of the living God and not only better than so many sparrows, but of more value than the whole world."[1] The secret of their peace and rest was in being brought into touch with the life-giving and energizing spirit of the great I AM—Jehovah who made the earth, and the heavens also are His; and as for the world and the fullness thereof He made it. Jesus then professed that through him, as the mouthpiece of God, he was the way, the truth, and the life. And the need of the soul of Man was fully met in the universality of Jesus' conception of God and Man. And "Jesus Christ was the first to bring the value of every soul to light, and what he did no one can ever undo. We may take up what relation to him we will: in the history of the past we can refuse to recognize that it was he who raised humanity to its present level. . . In the combination of these ideas—God the Father, the position of men as God's children, the infinite value of the human soul—the whole Gospel is expressed. . . . In proclaiming the fact that we are God's children as at once a gift and a task, he took firm grip of all the stumbling and stammering attempts at religion and brought them to their issue. Once more let it be said, we may assume what position we will in regard to him and his message, certain it is that thence onward the value of our race is enhanced; human lives nay, we ourselves, have become endeared to one another. A man may know it or not, but a real reverence for humanity follows from the practical recognition of God as the Father of us all.[2] The second essential in enquiring as to the reasonableness of Jesus' authority consists in the fact that, realizing the need of the race, and being conscious of his own relation to the Father, he was sure in his own soul that it could only be met in him. And he spoke with authority and power because he met this second essential demand of the human soul in searching out for its God. If then this is the reason of his authority what is the source from whence he derived it? It was in the inevitable working out of law—the Reason of his Authority is more readily seen when we begin to examine its source. It has

[1]A. Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[2]Harnack: *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 70.

been well said by a French critic that "the Christian principle appears in its simple and naked form, in the form of feeling and of inspiration, expanded, in his Gospel. The Gospel in fact is merely the popular translation and the immediate application of the principles of piety of Jesus in the social milieu in which he lived. Everything springs from his filial consciousness as a natural and wonderful efflorescence. . . . We must place ourselves at this luminous centre if we would see the rest dart forth as rays. In it is found the inner living unity of his teaching and destination. He promulgates no law or dogma; he founds no official institution. His intention is quite different; he wishes, before everything else, to awaken the moral life, to rouse the soul from its inertia, to break its chains, to lighten its burdens, to make it active, free, and fruitful. He regards his work as finished when he has communicated his life, his piety, to a few poor consciousnesses that he found asleep and dead. Never man spake like this man, because never had man less concern about what we call orthodoxy—that is about abstract and accurate formulas. He prefers the language of the people to the language of the schools; he makes use of images, parables, paradoxes, of current and traditional ideas, of every form of expression which taken literally is the most inadequate in the world, but which, on the other hand, is the most living and stimulating. . . . . Jesus wished to force his hearers to interpret his words, because he called them to an inward, personal autonomous activity, because he wished to put an end to the religion of the letter and rites, and to found religion of the spirit. Even now, he that does not give himself to this labor of interpretation and assimilation in reading the Gospel—he who does not penetrate through the letter and the form to the inspiration and inmost consciousness of the Master—cannot understand or profit by his teaching. He who does not collaborate with him while listening to him, who does not pierce through the words to his soul, will come away empty. He only gives to those who have, or at least desire to have. He only leads the seeker to the truth. He only pardons those who repent, or comforts those who mourn, or fills the hungerers and thirsters after righteousness. . . . At peace with God, Jesus found himself at peace with the universe. The idea of nature, that formidable screen erected between ourselves and God, destroying hope and

quenching prayer, did not exist for him. Nature—that was the will of his Father. . . . He did not feel himself to be an orphan or an exile in the world; he conducted himself in it with ease and in serenity, not as a slave, but as a son in the house of his Father filled with His Presence. It is the Father that directs all things. . . . He never leaves us to ourselves. . . His spirit vivifies and fortifies our own. . . . He is at the origin of our life and at the end; we are ever in the Father's hands."[1] In this unique relationship which Jesus sustains to the Eternal and Universal Father, we must look for the source of his authority.

2 The Source of Jesus' Authority.

President G. B. Cutten in his "The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity,"[2] brings to our attention the fallacy of the early investigators in their attempt "to fathom the profound mysteries of religion by speculating concerning the Moulder and the metal" instead of by studying the most obvious medium—to wit, the mould through which the metal passes—*i. e.*, the human mind. And in the effort to fathom the same experience in a specific instance of Jesus in the consideration of his authority both historical and present day, we must find it in the mould—*i. e.*, the mind of Jesus. The principles of the procedure, applied to the genuine case of religion in human life, are admirably dealt with by Dr. Cutten in the work just cited. With deepest reverence of one who still calls him Lord, we must still recognize this method in determining the source of the authority of Jesus. And to come immediately to the place where we may find the source from whence the complex stream of authority runs, we can only find it in the idea of God.

The notion of the Ultimate Reality, or God, in life, is not only the supreme notion of the race; but one of the greatest practical importance to the life of man. While it used to be asserted that there had been found some people absolutely devoid and destitute of any idea of a supreme Being, as for instance was long believed to

[1]A. Sabatier: Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion. N. Y. 1902. pp. 151-152.

[2]George B. Cutten: The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity. New York, 1909.

be the case with the Andamanese; but the researches of Man among these primitive people have greatly disproved any such contentions, as being the product of careless observation;[1] and the late de Quatrefages, following Man, accepts the fact that they are a religious people[2] and such negative statements have been amply shown to be but the result either of total ignorance, superficial observation, or moral malice on the part of those making the reports.[3] Man has always been a religious animal since he learned the distinction between right and wrong, and begot the social consciounsness. "Any man who thinks at all will recognize his dependence on some universal principle or being;" and while the conception thus apparently necessary to man, may differ concerning this fact of "dependence, in every instance man will feel his dependence on and vital relation of his life to this Ultimate Reality."[4] With ordinary man such a fact is the expression of the "ascent of the imperfect to the perfect, the flight of the changing and temporal to the unchanging and eternal, of the finite individual to the infinite and absolute. And this impulse God-ward, this search for the perfect, instinctive and primal though it be, is enlarged and refined of its grosser elements with the growth of human thought. Science and Philosophy do not banish it. They only transform it."[5]

The ideas of God that have permeated life most powerfully to the transformation of character and custom have come through the medium, both in utterance and in the deep of the great personalities which seem to have been veritable offshoots from the Infinite—bringing with them abundances of divine energy and divine resourcefulness to accomplish the redemption of life in the midst of whom they found themselves. In life and action, such mediators have profoundly *influenced the religious convictions of men and nations.* "And, in a supreme degree Jesus' personal life and attitude have been the source of the revolution he has wrought in men's

[1]E. H. Man: The Andaman Islanders. London, 1885.

[2]de Quatrefages: The Pygmies, trans. New York, 1895.

[3]*Cf.* D. G. Brinton: Primitive Religions. New York, 1898.

[4]Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[5]Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 140.

ideas concerning God and in their vital and active feelings and convictions in regard to Him . . . . . Now it was (and it is) through his influence on the entire personality, on the heart and will of the individual man, that Jesus wrought his revolution in men's thought in regard to God's character and attitude toward Men.

"Jesus does not argue and does not demonstrate God's being. He gives no proofs, ontological, cosmological, or teleological, of God's existence. He assumes that there exists a Supreme Mind or Person, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-Holy. He assumed the supreme unity of truth and power in a divine Intelligence. He places first, as the supreme attribute of God, the governing principle in His relation to man!—LOVE that transcends, and uses as its instrument, omnipotence and omniscience, Love that passes beyond mere justice and righteousness, Love infinite in patience and forgiveness and eternal in well-doing, Jesus declared to be the heart of God. This is the unique and unparalled contribution to the idea of God. This is his revolution in ethical theology. The doctrine of God which Jesus offers is absolutely ethical and spiritual."[1] It is not with any show of intellectual ability to deal with the problems of God and humanity, that Jesus came forth upon the activities of mature life. No, rather, he came into the midst of the experiences of the national life of the Jews[2] with the calm of absolute knowledge, and the problems fully solved so that he need only speak to the soul in the terms of its needs which was made possible because of the peculiar and significant background of his life. "Everything," says Harnack, "seems to pour from him naturally, as though it could not do otherwise, like a spring from the depths of the earth, clear and unchecked in its flow. Where shall we find the man who, at the age of thirty, can so speak if he has gone though bitter struggles—

[1]Leighton: *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151, *cf.* also "The Divinity of Jesus," by Authors of Progressive Orthodoxy, p. 140.

[2]H. Schulz: Christian Apologetics, trans. N. Y., 1907, pp. 208-209. "In such a race did Jesus appear, untouched by the follies of the schools, possessed in his deepest soul by the spirit of the prophetic religion of his people. He brought neither new theories of the philosopher or the theologian, nor new ordinances of the popular leader. . . . He brought the religious miracle of his personality, and a great world-renewing deed. The unique relationship to God which he carried in his breast he imparted as revelation to his people."

struggles of the soul, in which he has ended by burning what he once adored, and by adoring what he burned? Where shall we find the man who has broken with the past, in order to summons others to repentance as well as himself, but who through it all never speaks of his own repentance? He lived in religion, and it was breath to him in the fear of God; his whole life, all his thoughts and feelings were absorbed in the relation to God . . . . . He spoke his message and looked at the world with a fresh and a clear eye for the life, great and small, that surrounded him. He proclaimed that to gain the whole world was nothing if the soul were injured, and yet he remained kind and sympathetic to every living thing. That is the most astonishing and the greatest thing about him."[1] If we could but get back into the workings of his mind and soul during these hidden years at Nazareth we might be permitted to learn of the entrance of divinity into humanity in the fullness in which we see it in Jesus—and learn the process of the moulding of this knowledge and life as it was going on. But of this we may be reasonably sure that he now came forth with all certainty and assurance of meeting the soul's needs and bringing to the common humanity the peace of heart and satisfaction of mind that it so passionately craved: not in some cunningly devised system of thought concerning God, but the absolute assurance of the knowledge of Him. And we cannot watch him as he comes into the midst of the activities of his race without seeing the mysterious majesty of divine assurance born in the face of the great overwhelming needs of the world. "His personal experience." says Principle Forsyth, "is far greater than anything he said or could say to his public. He only preached the true relation between God and man because he incarnated it, and because he came to establish it. . . . What he was for God, it is not for man intimately to know. We are blessed in what he did."[2] Another writer says "The authority of Jesus does not depend on

[1]Harnack: *op. cit.; Cf.* Schulz: *op. cit.* "He is, it is true, a man who struggles with temptations—not like God whom no temptation touches. But he is free from all traces of repentance and need of reconciliation. He does not yearn to be one with the Divine purpose, but has it in him as the aim of his own life." p. 288.

[2]Forsyth: *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

any external credentials; it is involved in what he is and must be immediately apprehended and responded to by the soul."[1]

And it is precisely what he did and accomplished for man that is for man to know. In the words already quoted from Dr. Leighton it seems to me that he has analyzed truly Jesus' idea of God as found in what he did for man, saying, "He assumes that there exists a Supreme Mind or Person, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-Holy. He assumes the supreme unity of truth and Power in a divine Intelligence. He places first, as the supreme attribute in God the governing principle in His relation to man—Love . . .Love that passes beyond mere justice and righteousness, Love infinite in patience and forgiveness and eternal well-doing." And so we should say that "Christ himself is the apology for Christianity. . . . And the new life proceeding from him to man is the apology of Christ,"[2] were it necessary for us to turn around in an attempt to make an apology for him. (The architect of St. Paul's cathedral in London, Sir Christopher Wren, was a man of very small stature, but admittedly an intellectual giant. Over one of the doors of that magnificent building are these words below his own name, "*Si monumentum requiris cirsumspice.*"[3] The MONUMENTS Christ has left of his great work, likewise testify of his might and majesty.) Furthermore, his life is the life of God among men, and the actuating force and motivating power is the life of divine love that seeks the salvation and redemption of his fellows—a love so pure, so free and uncontaminated by the limitations and evils of a worldly life. He had no need to argue concerning the existence of God because of the peculiar relation which he was sustaining with God—a relation at once unique and singificant as finding expression for the divine and human, both universal; and the expression of the divine by Jesus was so real and so perfect as to be that expression best calculated to meet the needs of the race the world over. The fact

[1]Denny: art. Hasting's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, Vol. 1, p. 148 a; *cf.* Schulz: *op. cit.* "Jesus has proclaimed the will of God . . . . as a prophet, with no other than his personal assurance, even where he had to put himself in opposition to the ruling views and current piety—even as one who possessed authority." p. 281.

[2]Schulz: *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[3]C. H. Row: Christian Evidences. London, 1887 (quoted by).

is, that back of all Jesus' efforts and actions there is the sublime consciousness of his unity with God which brooks no doubting and which shows itself in the perfect adaptation to the needs of men as he came before them. He was living and working in such harmony with God that we are bound to see that the divine life was for him as real as the human life; and to be the expression of that life was only to manifest his life in the true medium of life's sustenance. To him this relation with God was just as vital as that which ordinary mortals must sustain towards the facts of pure air and sanitary surroundings to guarantee the greatest degree of health of body and mind.

And from his lips the word "Father," though so often used in reference to God, was now surcharged with a fullness of meaning hitherto unknown. Because to him God is the Father, we see where Jesus reverses the order of divine attributes as systematized by theologians (or rather recognizes the better place of the more important dynamical attributes over those which are more purely speculative attributes) and instead of speaking of the omnipotence and omnipresence of God, or of His immutability and eternity, he makes the supreme attribute to be Love, which is all conjured up in the word "Father;" and this brings to men a new view of God showing Him in His real governance of the world by the Love that transcends and uses these other attributes as the instruments of His good pleasure towards his creatures:—and this Jesus declared out of the abundance of his own vitality of experience to be the very heart of the infinite God. "He affirms it as an unshaken, sun-clear intuition of God which he himself possesses in absolute measure, says Leighton, and the word 'Father,' though it had been applied to God before Jesus used the term it now possessed a world of new meaning in his mouth. Through Jesus men feel the Father's living presence and are made joyful in the new-found sense of God's personal presence and interest in them and in their lives. 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things; Matt. 6:32; 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living,' Matt. 22:32; Mk. 12:27, etc. 'If ye then being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?' Matt. 7:11, etc., . . Jesus'

notion of God is absolutely ethical and spiritual."[1] "He has not sought to give a precise exposition of the general conception of God by means of theological notions, but he made it intelligible by ususally employing the name Father to designate God."[2]

We must therefore conclude that the fountain head or source from which Jesus received his authority was through this unique and significant relation that he sustained to God—absolute harmony in life and purpose. In a very interesting article Mr. A. N. Rowlands says that "Jesus made the soul aware of its high origin and destiny, for the acceptance of the Fatherhood of God clears a path through Time and through Eternity. The issues of life become of supreme account to those who believe in One who lives and loves, watches and listens, provides and controls and will at length either welcome or reject." Jesus' ability to show this revelation to man, it is suggested by the same writer, is because he is "secure in the possession of his own personality, his self-consciousness being at one with God, his self-determination being merged in the will of God."[3] Dr. George Holly Gilbert, in one of his early books,[4] suggests that "the authority of Christ is Given to him by God. This is, of course, involved in the fact that it was God who anointed Jesus to be the Christ. The authority comes from the same source as the anointing. This truth finds incidental expression when Paul says that God GAVE to Jesus the name which should be above every name, that is, the name Lord (Phil. 2:9-11). . . . . According to this, the gift of the name LORD was ethically conditioned. Paul saw in Jesus a supreme illustration of the principle contained in the LORD'S own words:—'He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.' This word in Philippians which makes the gift of Messianic authority depend upon Jesus' self-sacrifice accords with the prominence which Paul gives in his letters to the CHARACTER of Jesus."

[1]Leighton: *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

[2]Wendt: *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[3]A. N. Rowland: article, Personality Hasting's Dict. of Christ and the Gospels. Edin., 1908, Vol. 2, pp. 344a, 345a, § 3, (1).

[4]G. H. Gilbert: The First Interpreters of Jesus. N. Y., 901, p. 26.

This source is further manifested and noted to be in this peculiar relation to God when we consider his authority as coming from the mould as it were, *i. e.*, by his experience in relation to the world and his attitude to the fact of God. In proceeding from the known to the unknown we find from the activities of Jesus which portray for us the unseen experiences shared by him with the divine, that he lived constantly in that presence; it seems, too, as though no part of his life can be separated from this unique and supreme relation; he interpreted the mind and heart of God—therefore he must show his authority first of all by bringing to the mind and heart of men the true interpretation of the divine nature. His own thinking was so peculiarly divine, and the divine thoughts so eminently fitted into the life of Jesus that every word that fell from his lips brought men face to face with the new thoughts of God and divine things. When he spoke it was not necessary for him to assume any attitude of authority other than the attitude one naturally assumes when he is humbly, withal boldly, giving out the truth of a great burning yet loving message,—and men who hear it immediately give it the stamp of authority. Those whose souls are dissatisfied with present moral and spiritual attainments listen to and accept the words of divine life; and because they have had brought to them the food needed by the soul, and the stimulus needed by the mind, at once declare that he "speaks with authority and not as the scribes," because he has come to them with the fullness of life, both for the life that now is and gives them the assurance and conviction for the life that is to come. And when the Pharisee, complacent in his own righteousness which is of the law, hears the word of life, by his own action and attitude of fiery opposition and hatred because he has been touched in his petty selfhood, he too, recognizes that in Jesus is one who speaks with greater vitality of power than the Law in getting at the evils of life which it is the purpose of God in Christ to destroy—and go higher in life and health than all the commandments and injunctions of the Law as it breathes out its:—"Do this and thou shalt live," "touch not." And so we find first that the source of Jesus' authority is his unique and unitary relation with God coming from his own personality. We are not unaware that the theme at this point admirably lends itself to a consideration and discussion of the teaching of Jesus, or the Religion

of Jesus[1]—both of which issues are admirably though conservatively treated by Principal P. T. Forsyth in the second and fourth lectures in the work already quoted. Of Jesus, more truly than all other religious leaders that the world has known, it can be said that "His personal experience is far greater than anything that he said or could say to his public. All he said, arose, indeed, from his own experience, for he was no lecturer. But also it is all less than his experience. He received from none the Gospel he spoke. He only preached the true relation between God and Man because he incarnated it, and because he established it. *And therefore you cannot take him as a teacher alone*" (italics mine).[2] "In short," says another writer, "Jesus' own life and personality is the ultimate source of his moral influence."[2] The other two great postulates in psychology, those of the Will and Action—besides Thought, as determining the mould in which the life is cast and from which it comes to us in its own peculiar form and shape, find appropriate places in our discussion of the source of Jesus' authority. It is true that the source of Jesus' authority can be found in his absolute harmony with the divine, and a very significant oneness with humanity to whom he came as the vehicle of the divine mind—but the process of this relation will never be known to us; and we can only accept it as we find it true in his own experience. I think it has been clearly shown in our statement of the fact of his union with God that this union is shown in the fact of his own experience in translating the fact of God into understandable terms of human appropriation. As President Henry Churchill King says in one of his popular books,[4] "This recognition of the personal in Christ will mean, first, that we are to conceive Christ as a PERSONAL revelation of God, rather than containing in himself a divine sub-

[1]*Cf., e. g.*, A. Sabatier's Religions of Authority, N. Y., 1907, Bk. 3.
G. B. Stevens: New Testament Theology, N. Y., 1905.
John Watson: Christianity and Idealism, N. Y., 1897.
H. Schulz: Out. of Christian Apologetics, N. Y., 1909.

[2]P. T. Forsyth: *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[3]A. J. Leighton: *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[4]H. C. King: Theology and the Social Consciousness. N. Y., 1902. pp. 184-185; *cf.* also his Reconstruction in Theology. N. Y., 1901. p. 241 *et. seq.*

stance. It cannot be forgotten that if God is a person, and men are persons, the adaquate self-revelation of God to men can be made only in a truly personal life; and that men need above all, in their relation to God, some manifestation of his ethical will, and this can be shown only in the character of a person. . . . . This implies that the dominant sense of value and sacredness of the person will certainly tend to bring into prominence the moral and spiritual supremacy of Christ rather than the metaphysical or simply miraculous." And in another place the same writer speaks as follows on this thought of Christ as the revealer of God the Father—"in Christ" says President King, is "the greatest and most significant fact in the world, and so our best proof of the existence of God in the full Christian sense. . . . This argument does not at all go, it should be noticed, upon any assumption of arbitrary authority of Jesus, *but simply upon the signification of what he is* (italics mine). Any authority subsequently given him must be based wholly upon what he is in fact found to be. I count the fact of Christ, the greatest of all proofs of a completely satisfying God . . . the proof most powerful to produce conviction in the mind of a man who has himself come to full moral consciousness."[1]

And Herrman, working from a different view point, viz., that of the ecclesiastical authority of the Lutheran Church in Germany, says that "Luther . . . . at the same time always asserted that we find the living God in Jesus Christ. . . But he only becomes real to me when he lifts me to himself. He does this through the Man Jesus, and when this act of God revealing Himself, namely Jesus, gains power over our inner life, we are redeemed." Again the same author says "it is a communion of the soul with God through the mediation of Christ. Herein is really included all that belongs to the characteristic life of Christendom—revelation and faith, conversion and the comfort of forgiveness, the joy of faith and the service of love, life with God alone and life in Christian fellowship. All this is then truly Christian when it is experienced as communion with the living God through the meditation of Christ. When we believe in a man's personal Christianity we are convinced that he

[1]H. C. King: The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life. N. Y., 1908. pp. 202-203.

stands in that relation towards God which has thus been described."[1] Because Jesus lived and moved and had his being in the unshakable consciousness of God's eternal presence, he must needs have the will of God as the dynamic of his life (*cf.* Rowland, Hastings's Dict. of Christ and the Gospels, vol. 2, p. 344a). We find this explicitly stated in the record of Jesus' sayings when he talks to the opponents of his activities as they demand of him the source of his authority for his actions. 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work;' 'I came to do the will of my Father;' 'My meat and drink is to do the will of Him that sent me.' We can easily see, I think, the working of this power of making God's will to be his own will in the total activities of his ministry, postulating that such a dynamic must have been at work in the quiet years of his private life in the village home in the hill town of Nazareth. And so everywhere we find that the source of authority that shows itself in the activities of Jesus is the harmony that he so powerfully sustains with God. Yes, his own confession was, 'I do always the things that please Him.' And it is not, to my mind, at all unlikely that the impetuous Peter was entirely right, and within the bounds of full justice and judgment when he gives us the dispassionate (?) view of Jesus' life which he describes as 'He went about doing good.' It would seem that his life portrayed the attitude of the Infinite God in just such terms as the suffering and oppressed heart of the simple Jews as they longed to know their Creator and God. If we could have thrown on the screen before us the conditions of health and home and the inner life of these wayfaring and simple-minded Jewish people, we should doubtless see that the true conception of Jehovah God was not completely extinguished; and as Jesus lived and wrought among them, the dimly shining spark of the divine in them came into fuller light again and came to be one of the potent factors in the redemption of the people and the race. It is a significant fact that there was a time when the English language was as seriously threatened as ever the true religion was threatened at this time among the Jews. At the Norman invasion and conquest of England, the French language not only became the instrument of court proceedings, but there were great efforts made to take it into all the homes and sup-

[1]Herrman: *op. cit.*, p. 7.

plant the strong and virile English of those days. However, the hearth and home could not be so easily penetrated by a foreign and 'polite' means of speech. But the love for the home tongue might have been finally quenched by the persistent efforts of the powers that held sway had it not been that a people's poet arose from among the midst of them, who knew the heart of his countrymen, and in their own language spoke to them; the project to foster the French language was forever frustrated, and in the work of Chaucer we have the redeemer and preserver of the English language. Back of the dimness of the religion of the Jews, about to be snuffed out forever by the hand of legalism and the domination of a foreign power, Jesus caught the sound of the voices of the better nature of his countrymen, just as in later years Chaucer did the same thing for the mother tongue of his countrymen. And back of all his living we can perceive that Jesus was actuated by a motive really not his own but combining his own with a transcending motive, the motive of God. And we are able to appreciate his confession of unity with God when he tells us that he came to do his Father's will and make it to be his own will; how else can we understand the keen rebuffs and the constant thwartings that he met with and did not complain or let go his hold and purpose? "What the precepts of non-resistance and non-retaliation mean is that under no circumstance, under no provocation, must the disciple of Jesus allow his conduct to be determined by any other motive than that of love. He must be prepared to go to all lengths with love, and no matter how love is tried, he must never renounce it for an inferior principle, still less for an instinctive natural passion—such as the desire for revenge. But thus, the moral authority of Jesus is unquestionable, and it asserts itself over us the more, the more we feel that he embodied in his own life and conduct the principle which he proclaims . . . Jesus is our authority, but his words not our statutes. . . . There is an authority in him to which no words, not even his own, can ever be equal." "(Denny, Authority of Christ. in Hastings's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, vol. 1, p. 148a). Back of all the exceedingly trying experiences through which he passed, we cannot but note his majesty and greatness as the silent dynamic, checking the flow of ordinary human weaknesses of moral character, and in their place begetting calmness amid dangers and difficulties, forgiveness in the face of slanders and

assaults, and wooing and winning his enemies by a non-combative and non-retaliative attitude; revealing the strength of the divine life to which he was linked so inseparably—and becoming at once the greatest argument for his life and teachings and the most serious obstacle against the overthrowing of them: 'Believe me for the very works sake.'

3 The Result of His Authority.

He taught in deed as well as in word. Besides his constant deeds of healing the body as well as the mind, by which he does reverence to the body so often despised by his would-be followers, and allows no place in his thought for an ascetic dualism, compare his many utterances and notice his frequent companionating with the socially outcast and despised—with the publican and the sinner; and these actions are justified by his words: 'The Son of Man is come to save that which is lost;' 'They that are whole need not a physician but they that are sick;' 'He hath anointed me to preach the Glad-tidings to the poor.' and to him we find that there is but

> 'One God, one, law, one element
> And one far off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves.'

and this is the redemption of his people by God through him. In his life we see something of the true greatness and genius of life; and 'nothing great was ever done without passion' said the French philosopher Diderot. It is from such a life that we see the stream of gentle and gracious activities proceeding, seeking always the good and blessing of others. And this, too, not in any merely utilitarian way, and not to secure merely the greatest happiness for the greatest number. He went far back of any such one-sided life philosophy, and endeavors to secure to his people the greatest good which could come to them only through the renewed and revitalized relation to God—possible to them since he came for such a purpose: 'No man cometh to the Father save through the Son.' In the activities of Jesus, the opening of the blind eyes, the restoration of the lame, maimed, and halt; the restoration to life of those who were sick unto death, his forgiveness of sins to the man at the beautiful gate and the woman taken in adultery; the going out of his way to heal the leper—all point to the great truth that below the surface of the

actions he brings us face to face with the great motivations of God—His will realized in a human life! a life wherein the divine will is so completely realized by producing the very activities of God.

His mind was bent upon realizing the Kingdom of God in the hearts of men and his efforts were to bring God's will to earth in a language which would unfold itself in terms of human understanding. He showed his own willingness in the attitude that he sustained to God; and the stream of divine consciousness finally manifested itself in his attitude to human beings—that he came to bring them into their rightful inheritance. The key to the sublime self-consciousness of Christ is that *in him we find the immediate and supreme expression of the divine will,* giving us the result of the divine education and interpretation. And because of this supreme and sublime expression in Jesus' life we are bound to consider its meaning for the Modern Mind.[1]

Dr. G. A. Gordon, speaking of "Jesus Christ and Immortality; Faith and Fact" brings out in a noble expression how that faith in Jesus as the acme of all and God's final medium, that poets, philosophers and prophets had their complement only in the light of what he came to do and accomplish. And no thinking man in this day can set down his conclusions of life without taking into account what this same Jesus has done for him and made possible of realization. I am coming to believe that the majority of psychological and philosophical conclusions will agree that this authority of Jesus is full of meaning for the modern mind in the complexities of life, a life which is oftentimes only too greatly perplexed and confused in the array of so many so-called conclusions of science, philosophy and history.[2]

[1]*Cf.* Geo. A. Gordon: The Witness to Immortality. Boston, 1893. p. 227 ff.

[2]In an analysis of the essential teachings of Jesus, Harnack (*op. cit.* p. 51) suggests the following: The general view of Jesus' teachings comprehend three heads: "I The Kindgom of God and its coming; II God the Father and the infinite value of the Human soul; III The Higher Righteousness and the commandment of love.

"That Jesus' message is so great and so powerful lies in the fact that it is so simple and on the other hand so rich; so simple as to be exhausted in each of the three leading thoughts which he uttered; so rich that every one of these thoughts seems to be inexhaustible and the full meaning of the sayings and parables beyond our reach. But more than that—he himself stands behind everything that he said. His words speak to us across the centuries with the freshness of the present. It is here that that profound saying is truly verified: 'Speak that I may see Thee.' "

(A) In this unique example of divine relationship manifested by Jesus, we find that it is now possible for us to come into conscious nearness to God as never before in the history of the Race. And it is such an attainment that is found to bring with it deep peace—described as the peace that passeth all understanding, for which the soul of man craves. "It is especially important," says Wendt, "to consider that Jesus did not proceed from the assertion of his Messiahship and the chief realization of the kingdom of God in his own person as Messiah and upon that basis found his teaching in regard to the kind of salvation and the nature of the righteousness to be found in the kingdom which he was to establish . . . . He purposely kept his own Messiahship in the background. . . He suppressed the premature announcement of his Messiahship by the demons," and as his ministry advanced "even then he expressly forbade the publication of the truth. . . He did not, from the outset, directly proclaim that truth, but gradually paved the way for its being understood by teaching the nature and coming of the kingdom in general. He thus sought to call forth, wherever possible, a spontaneous recognition of the truth on the part of others, not by their mere acceptance of authoritative assertions, but from an enlightened understanding of its grounds. Had Jesus declared himself to be the Messiah, there would have been associated with his person, in accordance with the prevailing Jewish ideas of the nature of the Messianic kingdom, expectations which he neither could nor would fulfill. But if he first elicted an understanding of the Messianic kingdom as he meant it, then also the paradoxical form in which he himself realized the ideal of the Messiah would be understood as the true and necessary one, in conformity with the genuine nature of the kingdom of God."[1] When did Jesus attain his Messianic consciousness? and with what preparation did he attain it? In another place in this paper, I have suggested that if the curtain could only be lifted on his hidden years in Nazareth, they would unfold to our gaze a wonderful instance of religious purity in the soul of Jesus, on whom, from the very beginnings, there seemed to rest a special measure of divine favor; and in Jesus' heart this favor from God found ready response to its winsomeness—for the deeper and truer religion gets into the

[1]H. Wendt: 'The Teachings of Jesus; trans. Edin., 1901. Vol. 1, pp. 176-178.

heart the more winsome does it become. And further, I think we should see in this ready response of the unsullied soul of Jesus the gracious influence of the divine heart. So God and humanity were united in him. In speaking of the Messianic preparation Wendt[1] says that "it consisted in having, from childhood, known and loved God as his Father, and in having been conscious of possessing divine endowments, and in having striven to do God's will in upright obedience. Only by having lived and moved in this relation to God, which he deemed the normal and natural one, could knowledge have come upon him at baptism with the sun-burst of a revelation, that on this very relation the peculiar nature of the kingdom of God rested, and that he himself, in whom that relation was thoroughly realized, had been called to be the founder of the kingdom of God. In analogy with the growth of his own Messianic consciousness, he had also to awaken in others the true recognition of his Messiahship. He had first to impress upon them those spiritual relations between God and man which he now perceived as the essential foundation of the kingdom of God. He had also to produce in them the conviction that where this relation had come to exist, there was the kingdom of God realized." Men wanted to know God in whom they could live and find the complement of life. It is a significant fact that the trend of modern thought is that the whole round of man's activities can and ought to be touched by God, and that real success in life's attainments is won by the conscious touch and nearness of the divine life with the human. When the call to 'repent,' not as understood in any merely theological sense, nor as determined by the councils of the Church, but the true Metanoia—change of both life and conduct—is heeded then shall Christ begin to reign in hearts supremely. And to the man without knowledge and culture, into whose life-currents this new life divine has come, then comes the incentive for knowledge and the desire for culture. Both such classes, then, as they come into conscious nearness to God, get a step nearer the *abermensch* becoming strong men full of deeds and vigor.[2] The coming of this new experience, super-human because

[1] Wendt: *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 180-181, 2; *cf.* also Harnack *op. cit.*, p. 191: "As a gospel it has only *one* aim, the finding of the living God, the finding of Him by every individual as *his* God, and as the source of strength and joy and peace."

[2] *Cf.* A. Allin, in The *Am. Jour. of Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 310.

above human, marks the beginning of a new era of life; the business relation is changed and new ideas of commercial conduct are begotten, and relation between subordinates and superiors is marked by a dignified fraternalism. I well remember an instance of startling sequence in illustration of this principle. Some years ago I came into touch with a man who had simply 'grown' up—who knew no schooling, and who, more likely through viciousness and perverted moral nature rather than any congenital defects, was always regarded as being lacking in completeness of mental faculty. Through the efforts of some young men interested in this fellow's welfare he was 'miraculously' made interested in religious things and finally came to the place where, in his saner and sober moods, he was brought face to face with the fact of the moral supremacy of Jesus; and facing the fact, embraced it. In a childlike manner he professed conversion and faith in Jesus Christ. The change was remarkable! A tongue that could hitherto scarcely pronounce his own name, and now full of shame and sorrow of his former circumstances and life, became comparatively free in speaking of his newfound joy and gracious experience. His mind became quickened to learn and in order that he might know more of this new life and experience that he had met and grasped, he began to learn. At this time he must have been forty years old. From a drunken sot who knew no greater joy than rags and indolence, he became a man who had respect for himself—for his person and appearance—who now sought not to walk in the ways of self-indulgence and ignorance, but whose efforts were directed in acquiring knowledge and living usefully and unselfishly. Naturally such a man laid himself open to meet many trying situations from his old companions and associates in toil, but I believe that he refused to let go this new principle of life and love which had come into his life with the advent of Jesus as the supreme moral fact of life. 'Nothing' says Prof. James Denny, 'is less like Jesus than to do violence to any one's liberty or to invade the sacredness of conscience and personal responsibility; but the broad fact is unquestionable, that without coercing others Jesus dominated them, without breaking their wills he imposed his own will upon them, and became for them the supreme moral authority to which they submitted absolutely, and by which they were inspired. His authority was unconditionally acknowledged be-

cause men in his presence were conscious of his moral ascendency, and of his devotion to and identification with what they could not but feel to be the supreme good. We cannot explain this kind of moral or practical authority further than by saying that it is one with the authority which the right and good exercise over all moral beings.'[1] By another writer[2] the authority of Jesus has been described as being as "gentle as the light of day. What he says about God and man and their relations needs no elaborate system of evidences to commend it. It is self-evidencing. It is rest-giving. Heart, conscience, reason rest in it. Men who have long wandered in darkness leap for joy when at last they come to the school of Jesus, and discover in him the true Master of the Spirit. Such was the experience of men in ancient times coming to Jesus from the schools of Greek philosophy; such is the experience of many in our day who had despaired of attaining to religious certainty."

Yet another example of like character to the one just cited is that of the late Owen Kildare who in his Mamie Rose, the story of his regeneration, tells the story of his own career—from a Bowery "bum" and lounger, to becoming self-respecting and capable of supporting himself by his pen within eight years after his acceptance of the fact of Christ and receiving him as supreme moral guide.[3]

(B) It is because Jesus came among men bringing with him the divine and highest and best in man, that men are apparently, yes, and in reality, unconsciously influenced by his work and purpose. "His influence" says Dr. Geo. A. Gordon, "was but God at work upon men; his miracles but the intelligence and love of God using the power of God as displayed in the outward world. This consciousness of Christ receiving up out of the eternal deeps the wisdom of God, and using this ceaseless income of grace upon man, and upon the nature of man, is the key . . . to his sublime idea of the life eternal. . . It was the thing about which he was the most clear and certain; for it was the thing with which he had most to do, and under

[1]Denny: Dict., *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 147a.

[2]A. B. Bruce: Apologetics Inter. Theol. Lib. Edin., 1893, p. 494.

[3]*Cf.* also the examples gathered in the late Prof. James' "The Varieties of Religious Experience," London, 1903; and Harold Bigbee's "Twice-Born Men," London and Boston, 1909.

whose power he lived unceasingly. It was the realization in him of the truth and grace of God. . . . The man who is bound by gratitude to God and by love and service to his kind, and who looks upon the world from the elevation of the Cross, lives a life of increasing strength and perennial freshness."[1]

Man comes into this conscious nearness to God, sometimes naturally, *i. e.*, hereditarily, and he does not know the precise time when this relation was assumed; such have been the men whom God has used to do the steady, constant, and persistent work in the things divine in the effort to realize the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and the work has been done quietly. Others, violent men, have taken possession of it by force, they have come into it only with great exertion, and paid dearly for it as they have fought strenuously and seriously with a perverted moral life for the mastery, and then these have gone out into the same kind of immoral or unnatural environments to bring other men into this same place of rest, the point of contact with God through Jesus Christ. In each case, because man is naturally related to God, as creature to creator, and it becomes natural for a morally healthy man, in the uprightness of life to think of and desire a life with God, we find that the same thing must be done, namely: man must first abandon himself supremely to God's will and purpose. And the state of his mind and the nature of his experience as he comes into this conscious nearness to God, will determine very largely the kind of life in this relation, and the shape his activities will assume. That is to say, his whole life will be colored by these two facts. From this we shall get a different type of activities, and different manifestations of the outworkings of the mind of God; yet each will be the same in this one fact—each will come to full completeness of life. This will prove the basis of their faith, to be modified, of course, with new experiences and the addition of new facts. This will be their religion. Our Christianity is foreign to the religion of Jesus when it fails to lead men to implicit faith in the Father of Spirits in full and holy worship. Jesus' religion is shown in his influencing efforts to realize the Father's purpose and will for him. Because he has shown us the possibility of coming into conscious nearness to God, and opened the way by the

[1]Geo. A. Gordon: *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230, 234.

means of his own moral supremacy—the realization of this fact must be and ever will be the characteristic element in the religion of Jesus. For weal or woe, religion is and eternally will be, Jesus has shown the way to the Great All-Father's heart because he came forth from it. It is impossible for us to realize this conscious nearness to God, without the corollary of coming into

(C) *Intimate Contact with God.*

We have seen that it was this nearness to God which brought Jesus into touch with Him and when, in Jesus' heeding the custom of baptism, we are brought face to face with him for the first time as the lamb of God, it is then that we note the difference between Jesus and John. John was the last link of the old school of the prophets; Jesus the first of the life renewing forces from God. John's life was really in the past with those of Isaiah, Hosea, Micah and Malachi; Jesus was in the present with an untold power of the future. He is the supreme example of God entering into and touching human lives, and he intimated that his life as an example of a God-filled (enthusiastic) life was possible to all men. Contact with God fills men with divine purposes and creates an indomitable passion for righteousness and justice, for truth and love. And it is no strange thing to note that to-day, the men who would do things for humanity are the men who are filled with God, and with a zeal for the things pertaining to the kingdom of righteousness, truth and love. Neither is it strange that this enthusiasm and zeal show themselves in diverse ways and modes of activities—perhaps sociological (*i. e.*, philanthropic) and educational. Contact and touch with God heighten man's value as a social and religious animal —yes, create out of him a new being—a new man in Christ Jesus as the great Apostle to the Gentiles so aptly describes it. Now we have a man filled with all the holy passion of God; and many a man who was, before this experience, unknown and without influence or place to lead and control others is made to be a human leader; and, we are told that "Human leadership calls for a like aspiration towards perfection according to the law of our being, a perfection that finds expression in the moral sphere in the guise of blamelessness. Furthermore, "in the case of man," continues the same author, "there is

a call for something more than passive surrender to the operation of life; there is asking as well as receiving, an interchange of confidences if you will. . . He, Jesus, holds the reins of final purpose in his hands. That he will conduct surely to the goal the unimaginably vast multitudes of sentient beings from this and other worlds, the myriads belonging to yesterday added to all the myriads of all the to-morrows, together with the generations of to-day in which you and I have a place, is fixed and sure."[1] Into this great work of Christ the modern man enters by his loyalty and unfeigned faith. He makes himself active in the welfare of man; for this is what he interprets to be the highest motive of God, and he brings them into relation with the great All-Father. When all men shall have been brought into this now unique, but then natural relation, the long sighed for city of our God shall be present. Yet in this acceptance of Jesus Christ and his passion and purpose in the redemption of humanity, we are not ignorant that there enter many complex situations and varied, and oftentimes scarcely explainable experiences, baffling and perplexing. But, we are assured that "amid all that is mysterious and baffling the authority of Jesus stands in view—and because he has touched our life at so many points, he stands ready to quiet our doubts and deepen our convictions of the certainties of life. In him we find summed up all the deep, true, fundamental experiences of both man and God. He asks nothing of us but nobleness of human sincerity in the hope of our making a good contribution to that 'one far off divine event to which the whole creation is moving'."[2] And as we have seen that he kept himself free that his opportunity might be full, he taught us by this example that it is not the place that makes the man, but the man makes the place; he proved himself the first of all and the greatest of all not inapt for humble service.

Granted that there is one great far off divine event towards which the whole creation is moving, it follows that it is the part of widsom for every man to put himself in such close touch with the great world purpose. "And he would really be a leader in the truest life will best aid the world purpose in extinguishing the lower elements that

[1]**Brent:** *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 41.
[2]*Ibid., in loco.*

are at variance with such a purpose . . . . and that by encouraging the production of the higher."[1] Again, is it only to the man who has come into this relation with God through Jesus Christ that can really appreciate and understand the true significance of the unity of the world ground,[2] and the unity of the universe. Moreover "it is clear that in so complex and diversified a thing as human life the earliest essential is that which will give coherence to the whole, a pervasive rather than a conjunctive force."[3] This essential we find to be purity of motive in life, such a factor determines one's relations to the great material and moral universe; and the diversity of human life is unified in this passion. Then "he whose motive is the purest and who is wed by it to purpose, will lead his fellows as a shepherd leads his flock."[4] It is this new purpose in the heart of man in touch with the great divine life that transforms it and makes it forget itself. And its purposes are realized through dogged determination and masterful purpose, in the face of apparent defeat.

> "For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in the main."

"Man is nothing left to himself. He is not a man until he becomes a member of a home, a citizen of a state, a communicant in the church of humanity. His essential nature is hidden until he confesses himself a son and a brother; until he founds in fact or in sympathy, a home for himself, and he steps out into a definite responsible relation to his nation and his kind. The individual is thus discovered and realized through society. He is a personal centre in a network of human relations; and if we tear him from the contexture of being, as selfishness always does, we destroy his essential nature as man, and reduce him again to the brute category. Long ago Aristotle said: 'Man is a social being,' and he who does not

[1]Brent: *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; *cf.* also A. T. Hadley, Baccalaureate Addresses, N.Y., 1907. p. 51 *et. seq.*

[2]*Cf.* B. P. Bowne, Theism, N. Y., 1887.

[3]Brent, *op. cit.*, pp. 36; *cf.*, also Hadley, *op. cit., ad supra*, pp. 73-89 The Religious Ideal.

[4]Brent: *op. cit.*, pp. 37.

continue the individual, in terms of domestic, social, and human relationship misses the essential constitution of man. . . . The city of God means the social order set upon divine foundations of love, and the whole structure and aim and movement of human life purified and inspired by the indwelling God."[1] Again this conscious nearness to God, made possible through Jesus is bound to culminate in the realization of that state and condition which Jesus calls eternal life, bringing surcease to the doubts of the soul seeking light on the problem of the Beyond—the after experience. "And this is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus whom thou hast sent." Jesus discovered to man's self the fact of immortality beyond the shadow of a doubt. And from the point of view of Jesus' follower, the fact of eternal life brings plenary inspiration for the accomplishment of the things that now are and the life that now is—a moral dynamic for the "daily round and common tasks" of life. "Thus life eternal is a possession for the present, while unconfined to time or place. And I think there is something impressive and conclusive, to a noble mind, in the affirmation that the soul filled with beautiful regard for man and burdened with great desires for the world cannot perish but must forever go on. . . . Its origin is in the immutable character of God, and its seat the fixed and ineffaceable image of God in the human soul . . . The eternal life is thus the aspect of all beings, Divine and human . . . It is the reproduction in the human of that which is the victorious contradiction of all change and decay."[2] This eternal life is the human life realized and inspired. It is the completed life, communion with the divine around, within, and above.

It has been urged, both by critics of the present age, and by critics of the Gospels, that the perpetuation of the Christian character under the conditions of modern life is possible only by pious self-deception—all too soon proving impracticable. "If Christianity" it is categorically laid down "is to mean the taking of the Gospels as our rule of life, then we none of us are Christians, and no matter what we say, we all know we ought not to be;" and after a very superficial criticism from such a student, Bradley proceeds "Uni-

[1]Gordon: *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.

[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

versal love doubtless is a virtue, but tameness and baseness—to turn the cheek to every rascal who smites it, to suffer the robbery of villains and the contumely of the oppressor, to stand idly by when the helpless are violated and the land of one's birth in its death struggle, and to leave honor and vengeance to God above—are qualities that deserve some other epithet." In the same article the writer tells us that there is an unreconcilable enmity between Christianity and morality.[1]

It has been suggested by a more recent writer, and one more sympathetic to both the historical and moral importance of Jesus, that though there may arise "Questions of criticism, of authority, of divinity that may be insoluble; but the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, the teaching, the character of Jesus, are left; and the practical Christ is enough to satisfy a practical age."[2]

The working class movement of the times represents the same view of the Gospels. 'We used to think that Christ was a fiction of the priests', quotes Professor Peabody[3] in his work already cited, from "The Kernel and the Husk." p. 334 (American edition, 1887), "but now we find that he was a man after all like us—a poor working man who has a heart for the poor—and now that we understand this, we say—he is the man for us." "What infinite pathos is in that scene at Capernaum when the people crowd upon him so that he and his friends cannot find time to eat. . . The crowds press around him and he serves them gladly, and then it seems as if his nature demanded solitude for refreshment of his faith. The tide of the spirit ebbs from him in the throng, and when he goes apart he is least alone, because the Father is with him. Thus from utterance to silence, from giving to receiving, from society to solitude, the rhythm of his nature removes and the power which is spent in service is renewed in isolation. He is able to bear the crosses of others because he bears his own. He can be of use to men because he can go without them.

[1]F. H. Bradley: The Limits of Indiv. and Nat. Self-Sacrifice. In. J. Ethics, 1894.

[2]Peabody, G. F.: "The Character of Jesus Christ." Hibbert Journal, 1902-1903, vol. 1, p. 642.

[3]Peabody G. F.: "The Character of Jesus Christ." Hibbert Journal, 1902-1903, Vol. 1, p. 642.

He is ethically effective because he is spiritually free. He is able to save because he is strong to suffer. His sympathy and his solitude are alike the instruments of his strength. The type of character directly derived from him—the Christian character—is not a survival of monastic or sentimental ideals, inapplicable to the conditions of the modern world; it is a form of power effective through strength of soul. Its force flows down like an unstinted river among the utilities of life because it is nourished among the eternal hills. It has its abundance and its reserves, its service and its solitude; and the power which moves the busy wheels of the life of man is fed in the deep places of the life of God."[1] This acceptance of the fact of Christ produces in humanity a religious consciousness, which it is well said by an anonymous writer, "takes two different forms as it realizes more vividly the nearness or remoteness of God. In the one case it sees in Him a Father; in the other, a Judge: in the former it goes to Him direct, relying on a Father's love and the kinship of spirit with spirit; in the latter, conscious of offence, it fears an angry Deity, and seeks for mediation between itself and Him. Each standpoint has its strong and weak points. The one, while discerning more truly the relation between God and man, is apt to make little of sin, and to be 'at ease in Zion;' the other, while reading human nature as it is more accurately, makes God in the likeness of man. It substitutes an arbitrary dualism for the divine harmony of the universe; and, forgetting the emphatic 'I commanded it not, neither came it into my mind' of the prophet (Jer. 7:31), allies itself with evil shapes of darkness as intermediaries between man and the God who 'is not very far from each one of us,' in whom 'we live and move and have our being'. . . . The Gospel of Jesus unites these two positions . . . . claiming the nearness of God, it recognizes the estrangement of man. By birth a son, he is in 'a far country' he must rise and go to the Father's house."[2]

Because Jesus lived in time and spoke to the hearts of men, he now lives in the hearts of men redeemed and brought nigh unto

[1]Peabody, G. F.: The Character of Jesus Christ. Hibbert Journal, 1902-1903, Vol. 1, pp. 658-659.

[2]Romanus: The Hist. Jesus, and the Christ of Experience. Hib. J., Vol. 3, pp. 583-584.

God the Father. His authority of life has brought peace to the modern mind in the realm of spiritual and moral questions—because he is the summation of the highest moral concepts of the race. In a new way men are brought to touch divine things, and the tasks of the day are freighted with the significance of eternal values—and life is linked with God—where the great unceasing purpose runs on through the ages until all shall claim one holy light one heavenly flame.

"Sun of our life! Thy quickening ray
Sheds on our path the glow of day;
Star of our hope! Thy quickened light
Cheers the long watches of the night.

Lord of all life, below, above,
Whose light is truth, whose warmth is love,
Before Thy everblazing throne
We ask no lustre of our own.

Grant us Thy truth to make us free;
And kindling hearts that burn for Thee;
Till all Thy living alters claim
One holy light, one heavenly flame."

The work of Jesus, according to the best apprehension of it to-day, has its value and significance in his divine-human personality in which we find the embodiment of light, life, and love—divine qualities and characters—and this, too, under the conditional limitations of humanity. We see too, that amid the changing conceptions of naturalism, the personality of God, and also of man, Jesus may be known as transmitting his life—the moral power and personality of God himself—to man, and in due course is regarded as what sacred writer calls, the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto all that believe. The authority of Christ is more fully exhibited and manifested in the production of the Christian character. He produces a revolution in the lives he enters, which is tantamount to a completely new creation so great is the force of this new moral and spiritual dynamic. In the Christian character it is to be found that freedom takes the place of bondage to the law; faith transcends the servility of traditional and legal or ceremonial observances; filial love takes the place of cowering and cringing fear at the presence of the great Judge of the quick and the dead; peace rules and reigns in joy and sweetness because he has paid the debt of sin:

"No condemnation now I dread
Jesus and all in him are mine;
Alive in him, my quickened head
And clothed in righteousness divine;
Bold I approach the eternal throne,
And claim the crown through Christ my own."

The Christian then is in harmony with God, with his own heart and with the whole world, because in Christ he has been brought to the great wellspring of life: where death and sighing shall be no more, and grace and love are governing free; there is perennial joy and wonder at the new meanings of life that are constantly unfolding themselves to his reverent gaze and pulsating heart as he draws power from this eternal source. With Luther, the disciple of Christ can surely say 'Er ist mein Herr,' and with the early disciples, 'Jesus my Lord.'

No data of science, physical or metaphysical, have the power to destroy this power and authority of Christ.

"To be the child of God," says Harnack, "and to be gifted with the Spirit are simply the same as being a disciple of Christ."[1]

[1]Harnack: *op. cit.*, p. 165.

ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HOMOSEXUALITY AND DIVINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERMEDIATE SEXES GENERALLY IN EARLY CIVILIZATIONS.

By EDWARD CARPENTER.

A curious and interesting subject is the connection of the Uranian temperament with prophetic gifts and divination. It is a subject which, as far as I know, has not been seriously considered—though it has been touched upon by Elie Reclus, Westermarck and others. The fact is well known, of course, that in the temples and cults of antiquity and of primitive races it has been a widespread practice to educate and cultivate certain youths in an effeminate manner, and that these youths in general become the priests or medicine-men of the tribe; but this fact has hardly been taken seriously, as indicating any necessary connection between the two functions, or any relation in general between homosexuality and psychic powers. Some such relation or connection, however, I think we must admit as being indicated, and the question is what it may be.

In the account given in the Bible of the reforming zeal of King Josiah (2 Kings XXIII) we are told (v. 4) that "the King commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven; and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron. . . . And he brake down the houses of the Sodomites, that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the grove."

The word here translated "Sodomites" is the Hebrew word Kedeshim, meaning the "consecrated ones" (males), and it occurs again in 1 Kings XIV, 24; XV, 12; and XXII, 46. And the word translated "grove" is Asherah. There is some doubt, I be-

lieve, as to the exact function of these *Kedeshim* in the temple ritual, and considerable doubt as to whether the translation of the word given in our Authorized Version is justified.[1] It is clear, however, that these men corresponded in some way to the *Kedeshoth* or sacred women, who were—like the *Devadasis* of the Hindu temples—a kind of courtesan or prostitute dedicated to the god, and strange as it may seem to the modern mind, it is probable that they united some kind of sexual service with prophetic functions. Dr. Frazer, speaking[2] of the sacred slaves or *Kedeshim* in various parts of Syria, concludes that "originally no sharp line of distinction existed between the prophets and the Kedeshim; both were 'men of God,' as the prophets were constantly called; in other words they were inspired mediums, men in whom the god manifested himself from time to time by word and deed, in short, temporary incarnations of the deity. But while the prophets roved freely about the country, the *Kedeshim* appears to have been regularly attached to a sanctuary, and among the duties which they performed at the shrines there were clearly some which revolted the conscience of men imbued with a purer morality."

As to the Asherah, or sometimes plural Asherim, translated "grove," the most accepted opinion is that it was a wooden post or tree stripped of its branches and planted in the ground beside an altar, whether of Jehovah or other gods.[3] Several biblical passages, like Jeremiah II, 27, suggest that it was an emblem of Baal or of the male organ, and others (*e. g.*, Judges II, 13 & III, 7) connect it with Ashtoreth the female partner of Baal; while the weaving of hangings or garments for the "grove" suggests the combination of female with male in one effigy.[4] At any rate we may conclude pretty safely that the thing or things had a strongly sexual signification.

Thus it would seem that in the religious worship of the Canaanites there were male courtesans attached to the temples and inhabit-

[1]See Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, 2nd edition 1907, pp. 14, 64 note, etc.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 67.
[3]See Frazer's Adonis, pp. 14, note, etc.
[4]See a full consideration of this subject in *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, by Thomas Inman. (2nd edition 1874.) p. 120 *et seq.*

ing their precincts, as well as consecrated females, and that the ceremonies connected with these cults were of a markedly sexual character. These ceremonies had probably originated in an ancient worship of sexual acts as being symbolical of, and therefore favorable to, the fertility of Nature and the crops. But though they had penetrated into the Jewish temple they were detested by the more zealous adherents of Jehovah, because—for one reason at any rate—they belonged to the rival cult of the Syrian Baal and Ashtoreth, the *Kedeshim* in fact being "consecrated to the Mother of the Gods, the famous Dea Syria."[1] And they were detestable, too, because they went hand in hand with the cultivation of 'familiar spirits' and 'wizards'—who of course knew nothing of Jehovah! Thus we see (2 Kings XXI) that Manasseh followed the abominations of the heathen, building up the high places and the 'groves' and the altars for Baal. "And he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments,[2] and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards, and wrought much wickedness. . . . and he set a graven image of the 'grove' in the house of the Lord." But Josiah his gransdon reversed all this, and drove the familiar spirits and the wizards out of the land, together with the *Kedeshim*.

So far with regard to Syria and the Bible, in the matter of the apparent connection of homosexuality with prophecy and priesthood. But Dr. Frazer points out the curious likeness here to customs existing to-day among the Negroes of the Slave Coast of West Africa. In that region, women, called Kosio, are attached to the temples as wives, priestesses and temple prostitutes of the python-god. But besides these "there are male *Kosio* as well as female *Kosio*, that is there are dedicated men as well as dedicated women, priests as well as priestesses, and the ideas and customs in regard to them seem to be similar.[3] "Indeed," he says, "the points of resemblance between the prophets of Israel and of West Africa are close and curious."[4] It must be said, however, that Dr. Frazer

[1] See Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Our Moral Ideas*, Vol. II, p. 488.

[2] All this suggests the practice of some early and primitive science, and much resembles the accusations made in the thirteenth century against our Roger Bacon, pioneer of modern science.

[3] *Adonis*, etc., p. 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

does not in either case insist on the inference of homosexuality. On the contrary, he rather endeavours to avoid it, and of course it would be very unreasonable to suppose any *invariable* connection of these "sacred men" with this peculiarity. At the same time the general inference in that direction—particularly in view of later facts brought forward in this paper—is strong and difficult to evade.

To proceed. Among the tribes in the neighborhood of Behring's Straits—the Kamchadales, the Chukchi, the Aleuts, Inoits, Kadiak islanders, and so forth, homosexuality is common, and its relation to shamanship or priesthood most marked and curious. Westermarck, quoting (Moral Ideas Vol. 1, p. 458) from Dr. Bogoraz, says:—"It frequently happens that, under the supernatural influence of one of their shamans, or priests, a Chukchi lad at sixteen years of age will suddenly relinquish his sex and imagine himself to be a woman. He adopts a woman's attire, lets his hair grow, and devotes himself altogether to female occupation. Furthermore, this disclaimer of his sex takes a husband into the *yurt* (hut) and does all the work which is usually incumbent on the wife, in most unnatural and voluntary subjection. . . . These abnormal changes of sex imply the most abject immorality in the community, and appear to be strongly encouraged by the shamans, who interpret such cases as an injunction of their individual deity. "Further," Westermarck says "the change of sex was usually accompanied by future shamanship; indeed nearly all the shamans were former delinquents of their sex." Again he says, "In describing the Koriaks, Krasheninnikoff makes mention of the *Ke'yev*, that is men occupying the position of concubines, and he compares them with the Kamchadale *Koe'kcuc*, as he calls them, that is men transformed into women. Every *Koe'kcuc*, he says, "is regarded as a *magician* and interpreter of dreams. . . . The *Koe'kcuc* wore women's clothes, did women's work, and were in the position of wives or concubines." And (on p. 472) "There is no indication that the North American aborigines attached any opprobrium to men who had intercourse with those members of their own sex who had assumed the dress and habits of women. In Kadiak such a companion was on the contrary regarded as a great acquisition; and the effeminate men, far from being despised, were held in repute by the people, most of them being wizards."

This connection with wizardry and religious divination is particularly insisted upon by Elie Reclus, in his *Primitive Folk* (contemporary Science Series). Speaking of the Inoits (p. 68) he says:—"Has a boy with a pretty face also a graceful demeanor? The mother no longer permits him to associate with companions of his own age, but clothes him and brings him up as a girl. Any stranger would be deceived as to his sex, and when he is about fifteen he is sold for a good round sum to a wealthy personage.[1] 'Choupans,' or youths of this kind are highly prized by the Konyagas. On the other hand, there are to be met with here and there among the Esquimaux or kindred populations, especially in Youkon, *girls* who decline marriage and maternity. Changing their sex, so to speak, they live as boys, adopting masculine manners and customs, they hunt the stag, and in the chase shrink from no danger; in fishing from no fatigue."

Reclus then says that the Choupans commonly dedicate themselves to the priesthood; but all are not qualified for this. "To become an *angakok* it is needful to have a very marked vocation, and furthermore a character and temperament which every one has not. The priests in office do not leave the recruiting of their pupils to chance; they make choice at an early age of boys or girls, not limiting themselves to one sex—a mark of greater intelligence than is exhibited by most other priesthoods." (p. 71.) The pupil has to go through considerable ordeals:—"Disciplined by abstinence and prolonged vigils, by hardship and constraint, he must learn to endure pain stoically and to subdue his bodily desires, to make the body obey unmurmuringly the commands of the spirit. Others may be chatterers; he will be silent, as becomes the prophet and the soothsayer. At an early age the novice courts solitude. He wanders throughout the long nights across silent plains filled with the chilly whiteness of the moon; he listens to the wind moaning over the desolate floes;—and then the aurora borealis, that ardently sought occasion for 'drinking in the light,' the *angakok* must absorb all its brilliancies and splendors. . . . And now the future sorcerer is no longer a child. Many a time he has felt himself in the presence of Sidne, the Esquimaux Demeter, he has divined it by the shiver

[1]See also Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States.*, Vol. I, p. 82.

which ran through his veins, by the tingling of his flesh and the bristling of his hair. . . . He sees stars unknown to the profane; he asks the secrets of destiny from Sirius, Algol, and Altair; he passes through a series of initiations, knowing well that his spirit will not be loosed from the burden of dense matter and crass ignorance, until the moon has looked him in the face, and darted a certain ray into his eyes. At last his own Genius, evoked from the bottomless depths of existence, appears to him, having scaled the immensity of the heavens, and climbed across the abysses of the ocean. White, wan and solemn, the phantom will say to him: 'Behold me, what dost thou desire?' Uniting himself with theDouble from beyond the grave, the soul of the *angakok* flies upon the wings of the wind, and quitting the body at will, sails swift and light through the universe. It is permitted to probe all hidden things, to seek the knowledge of all mysteries, in order that they may be revealed to those who have remained mortal with spirit unrefined." (p. 73.)

Allowing something for poetic and imaginative expression, the above statement of the ordeals and initiations of the *angakok*, and their connection with the previous career of the *Choupan* are well based on the observations of many authorities, as well as on their general agreement with similar facts all over the world. There is also another passage of Reclus (p. 70) on the duties of the *angakok*, which seems to throw considerable light on the already mentioned *kedeshim* and *kedeshoth* of the Syrian cults, also on the *kosio* of the Slave Coast and the early functions of the priesthood in general:—"As soon as the *choupan* has moulted into the *angakok*, the tribe confide to him the girls most suitable in bodily grace and disposition; he has to complete their education—he will perfect them in dancing and other accomplishments, and finally will initiate them into the pleasures of love. If they display intelligence, they will become seers and medicine-women, priestesses and prophetesses. The summer *kachims* (? assemblies), which are closed to the women of the community will open wide before these. It is believed that these girls would be unwholesome company if they had not been purified by commerce with a man of God."

"Among the Illinois Indians," says Westermarck (Vol. II, p. 473), "the effeminate men assist in [*i. e.*] are present at all the juggleries and the solemn dance in honor of the calumet or

sacred tobacco-pipe, for which the Indians have such a deference. . . but they are not permitted either to dance or to sing. They are called into the councils of the Indians, and nothing can be decided without their advice; for because of their extraordinary manner of living they are looked upon as *manitous*, or supernatural beings, and persons of consequence." "The Sioux, Sacs, and Fox Indians," he continues, "give once a year, or oftener, a feast to the Berdashe, or I-coo-coo-a, who is a man dressed in women's clothes, as he has been all his life." And Catlin (North American Indians Vol. II, p. 214) says of this Berdashe:—"For extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation is looked upon as *medicine* and sacred, and a feast is given to him annually; and initiatory to it a dance by those few young men of the tribe who can—as in the illustration—dance forward and publicly make their boast (without the denial of the *Berdashe*) that" [then follow three or four unintelligible lines of some native dialect; and then] "such and such only are allowed to enter the dance and partake of the feast."

In this connection it may not be out of place to quote Joaquin Miller (who spent his early life as a member of an Indian tribe) on the prophetic powers of these people. He says (Life among the Modocs, p. 360) "If there is a race of men that has the gift of prophecy or prescience I think it is the Indian. It may be a keen instinct sharpened by meditation that makes them foretell many things with such precision, but I have seen some things that looked much like the fulfillment of prophecies. They believe in the gift of prophecy thoroughly, and are never without their seers."

The Jesuit father Lafitau, who published in 1724 at Paris an extremely interesting book on the manners and customs of the North American tribes among whom he had been a missionary,[1] after speaking of warlike women and Amazons, says (Vol. 1, p. 53):—"If some women are found possessing virile courage, and glorying in the profession of war, which seems only suitable to men; there

[1] *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*, par le P. Lafitau, Paris, 1724.

exist also men so cowardly as to live like women. Among the Illinois, among the Sioux, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are found youths who adopt the garb of women and preserve it all their lives, and who think themselves honored in stooping to all their occupations; they never marry; they take part in all ceremonies in which religion seems to be concerned; and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to pass for beings of a superior order, and above the common run of mankind. Would not these be the same kind of folk as the Asiatic worshippers of Cybele, or those Easterns of whom Julius Firmicus speaks (Lib. de Errore prof. Relig.), who consecrated to the Goddess of Phrygia, or to Venus Urania, certain priests, who dressed as women, who affected an effeminate countenance, who painted their faces, and disguised their true sex under garments borrowed from the sex which they wished to counterfeit."

Certainly this belief in some kind of relation between homosexuality and divination or sorcery (or the priestly office) is very widespread. Westermarck (p. 477) mentions the ancient Scandinavians as regarding passive homosexuals in the light of sorcerers; and refers (p. 484 note) to Thomas Falkner, who in his *Description of Patagonia*, p. 117, says that among thePatagonians "the wizards are of both sexes. The male wizards are obliged (as it were) to leave their sex, and to dress themselves in female apparel, and are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may. They are generally chosen for this office when they are children, and a preference is always shown to those who at that early time of life discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed very early in female attire, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to the profession they are to follow."

With regard to the attribution of homosexuality also to female wizards or witches I believe that, rightly or wrongly, this was very common in Europe a few centuries ago. Leo Africanus (1492) in his description of Morocco[1] says, "The third kind of diviners are women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiarity with divels. Changing their voices they fain the divell to speak within them:

[1]Hakluyt Society, 3 vols. Vol. II, p. 458

then they which come to enquire ought with greate feare and trembling (to) aske these vile and abominable witches such questions as they mean to propound, and lastly, offering some fee unto the divell, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women *Sahacat,* which in Latin signifieth *Fricatrices,* because they have a damnable custom to commit unlawful venerie among themselves, which I cannot express in any modester terms. If faire women come unto then at any time, these abominable witches will burn in lust towards them, no otherwise than lustie youngsters do towards young maides, and will in the divel's behalf demande for a rewarde, that they may lie with them; and so by this means it often falleth out that thinking thereby to fulfill the divel's command they lie with the witches. Yea some there are which being allured with this abominable vice, will desire the companie of those witches" (and to that end, he explains, deceive their husbands). Whether this is all true or not—and probably it is quite vulgarly exaggerated—it shows the kind of thing that was believed at that time about witches.

No doubt this list of cases connecting homosexuality with sorcery and priesthood might be somewhat indefinitely extended, but we need not attempt to cover the whole ground. In some cases the customs are accompanied by a change of dress, but not by any means always.

Speaking of the Pelew Islanders, Dr. Frazer[1] attributes the adoption by the priests of female attire to the fact that "it often happens that a goddess chooses a man, not a woman, for her minister and inspired mouthpiece. When that is so, the favored man is thenceforth regarded and treated as a woman." And he continues—"This pretended change of sex under the inspiration of a female spirit perhaps explains a custom widely spread among savages, in accordance with which some men dress as women and act as women through life."

This explanation is certainly not very convincing—though it is just possible that in certain cases of men of this kind in early times, the feminine part of their natures may have personified itself, and presented itself to them as a vision of a female spirit or goddess;

[1] *Adonis,* etc., p. 428.

and thus the explanation might be justified. But anyhow it should not be overlooked that the same impulse (for men to dress as women, and women to dress as men) perseveres to-day in quite a large percentage of our modern civilized populations; and whatever its explanations, the impulse is often enormously powerful, and its satisfaction a source of great delight. It must also not be overlooked, in dealing with this complex and difficult subject, that the mere fact of a person delighting to adopt the garb of the opposite sex does not in itself prove that his or her love-tendency is abnormal—*i. e.*, cross-dressing does not *prove* homosexuality. There are not a few cases of men in the present day (and presumably the same in past times) who love to dress as women, and yet are perfectly normal in their sex-relations; and therefore too sweeping generalizations on this subject must be avoided.[1]

On the whole, however, cross-dressing must be taken as a general indication of, and a cognate phenomenon to, homosexuality; and its wide prevalence in early times, especially in connection with the priesthood, must give us much matter for thought. Dr. Frazer in his *Adonis, Attis* and *Osiris*, continuing the passage I have just quoted, says:—"These unsexed creatures often, perhaps generally, profess the arts of sorcery and healing, they communicate with spirits and are regarded sometimes with awe and sometimes with contempt, as beings of a higher or lower order than common folk. Often they are dedicated or trained to their vocation from childhood. Effeminate sorcerers or priests of this sort are found among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo, the Bugis of South Celebes, the Patagonians of South America. . . . In Madagascar we hear of effeminate men who wore female attire and acted as women, thinking thereby to do God service. In the kingdom of Congo there was a sacrificial priest who commonly dressed as a woman and gloried in the title of the grandmother."

And so on. We need not, I think, delay further over the evidence, but proceed to discuss the meaning and explanation of the facts presented.

[1]See, in these connections, Dr. Hirschfeld's remarkable book "*Die Transvestiten*" (Berlin 1910); also *Die Konträre Sexual-empfindung* by Dr. A. Moll, edition 1893, pp. 82-90.

II.

There seem to me to be two possible and not unreasonable theories on the subject. The first is that there really is a connection between the homosexual temperament and divinatory or unusual psychic powers; the second is (that there is no such particular connection, but) that the idea of sorcery or witchcraft naturally and commonly springs up round the ceremonials of an old religion when that religion is being superseded by a new one. This is of course a well-recognized fact. The gods of one religion become the devils of its successor; the poetic rites of one age become the black magic of the next. But in the case of the primitive religions of the earth their ceremonials were—for reasons which we need not now consider—very largely sexual, and even homosexual. Consequently the homosexual rites, which were most foreign to the later religionists and most disturbing to their ideas, associated themselves *most* strongly with the notion of sorcery and occult powers.

For myself I am inclined to accept both explanations, and—leaving out of course the clause in brackets in the second—to combine them. I think there *is* an organic connection between the homosexual temperament and unusual psychic or divinatory powers; but I think also that the causes mentioned in the second explanation have in many cases led to an exaggerated belief in such connection, and have given it a sorcerous or demoniac aspect.

To take the second point first. Just as, according to Darwin, the sharpest rivalry occurs between a species and the closely allied species from which it has sprung, so in any religion there is the fiercest theological hatred against the form which has immediately preceded it. Early Christianity could never say enough against the Pagan cults of the old world (partly for the very reason that it embodied so much of their ceremonial and was in many respects their lineal descendant). They were the work and inspiration of the devil. Their Eucharists and baptismal rites and initiations—so strangely and diabolically similar to the Christian rites—were sheer black magic; their belief in the sacredness of sex mere filthiness. Similarly the early Protestants could never say malignant things enough against the Roman Catholics; or the Secularists in their turn against the Protestants. In all these cases there is an

element of fear—fear because the thing supposed to have been left behind lies after all so close, and is always waiting to reassert itself—and this fear invests the hated symbol or person with a halo of devilish potency. Think, for instance, what sinister and magical powers and influence have been commonly ascribed to the Roman Catholic priests in the ordinary Protestant parlors and circles!

It is easy, therefore, to understand that when the Jews established their worship of Jehovah as a great reaction against the primitive nature-cults of Syria—and in that way to become in time the germ of Christianity—the first thing they did was to denounce the priests and satellites of Baal-Peor and Ashtoreth as wizards and sorcerers, and wielders of devilish faculties. These cults were frankly sexual—probably the most intimate meaning of them, as religions, being the glory and sacredness of sex; but the Jews (like the later Christians) blinding themselves to this aspect, were constrained to see in sex only filthiness, and in its religious devotees persons in league with Beelzebub and the powers of darkness. And of course the homosexual elements in these cults, being the most foreign to the new religion, stood out as the *most* sorcerous and the most magical part of them. Westermarck points out (Moral Ideas, II, 489) that the Mediæval Christianity constantly associated homosexuality with heresy—to such a degree in fact that the French word *herite* or *heretique* was sometimes used in both connections; and that *bougre* or *Bulgarian* was commonly used in both, though to begin with it only denoted a sect of religious heretics who came from Bulgaria. And he thinks that the violent reprobation and punishment of homosexuality arose more from its connection in the general mind with heresy than from direct aversion in the matter—more in fact from religious motives than from secular ones.

But connecting with all this, we must not neglect the theory so ably worked out by Prof. Karl Pearson among others—namely that the primitive religions were not only sexual in character but that they were largely founded on an early matriarchal order of society, in which women had the predominant sway—descent being traced through them, and tribal affairs largely managed by them, and in which the chief deities were goddesses, and the priests and prophets mainly females. Exactly how far such an order or society really extended in the past is apparently a doubtful question; but

that there are distinct traces of such matriarchal institutions in certain localities and among some peoples seems to be quite established. Karl Pearson, assuming the real prevalence of these institutions in early times points out, reasonably enough, that when Christianity became fairly established matriarchal rites and festivals, lingering on in out-of-the-way places and among the peasantry, would at once be interpreted as being devilish and sorcerous in character, and the women (formerly priestesses) who conducted them and perhaps recited snatches of ancient half-forgotten rituals, would be accounted witches. "We have, therefore," he says,[1] "to look upon the witch as essentially the degraded form of the old priestess, cunning in the knowledge of herbs and medicine, jealous of the rites of the goddess she serves, and preserving in spells and incantations such wisdom as early civilization possessed." This civilization, he explains, included the "observing of times and seasons," the knowledge of weather-lore, the invention of the broom, the distaff, the cauldron, the pitchfork, the domestication of the goat, the pig, the cock and the hen, and so forth—all which things became symbols of the witch in later times, simply because originally they were the inventions of woman and the insignia of her office, and so the religious symbols of the Mother-goddess and her cult.

The connection of all this with homosexual customs is not at once clear; but it has been suggested—though I am not sure that Karl Pearson himself supports this—that the primitive religions of the Matriarchate may have ultimately led to men-priests dressing in female attire. For when the matriarchal days were passing away, and men were beginning to assert their predominance, it still may have happened that the old religious customs lingering on may have induced men to simulate the part of women and to dress as priestesses, or at least have afforded them an excuse for so doing.[2] In this way it seems just possible that the pendulum-swing of society from the matriarchate to the patriarchate may have been accompanied by some degree of crasis and confusion between the functions of the sexes, homosexual customs and tendencies may have come to

[1] *The Chances of Death and other studies*, by Karl Pearson, 2 vols., 1897. Vol. II, p. 13.

[2] See above, pp. 13 and 14.

the fore, and the connection of homosexuality with the priesthood may seem to be accounted for.

This explanation, however, though it certainly has a claim to be mentioned, seems to me too risky and insecure for very much stress to be laid upon it. In the first place the extent and prevalence of the matriarchal order of society is a matter still very much disputed, and to assume that at any early period of human history the same was practically universal would be unjustified. In the second place granting the existence of the matriarchal order and its transmutation into the patriarchal, the connection of this change with the development of homosexual customs is still only a speculation and a theory, supported by little direct evidence. On the other hand, the facts to be explained—namely, the connection of homosexuality with priesthood and divination — seem to be world-wide and universal. Therefore, though we admit that the causes mentioned—namely the attribution of magical qualities to old religious rites, and the introduction of feminine inversions and disguises through the old matriarchal custom—may account in part for the facts, and in particular may in certain localities have given them a devilish or sorcerous complexion, yet I think we must look deeper for the root-explanations of the whole matter, and consider whether there may not be some fundamental causes in human nature itself.

III.

I have already said that I think there is an original connection of some kind between homosexuality and divination; but in saying this of course I do not mean that everywhere and always the one is connected with the other, or that the relationship between the two is extremely well marked; but I contend that a connection can be traced and that on *a priori* grounds its existence is quite probable.

And first with regard to actual observation of such a connection, the fact of the widespread belief in it which I have already noted as existing among the primitive tribes of the earth; and their founding of all sorts of customs on that belief, must count for something. Certainly the mere existence of a widespread belief among early and superstitious peoples—as for instance that an eclipse is caused by a dragon swallowing the sun—does not prove its truth; but in the

case we are considering the matter is well within the range of ordinary observation, and the constant connection between the *choupan* and the *angakok*, the *ke'yev* and the *shaman*, the *berdashe* and the witch-doctor, the ganymede and the temple-priest, and their correspondence all over the world, the *basir* among the Dyaks, the boy-priests in the temples of Peru, the same in Buddhist temples of Ceylon, Burma and China—all these cases seem to point to some underlying fact, of the fitness or adaptation of the invert for priestly or divinatory functions. And though the tendency already alluded to, of a later religion to ascribe devilish potency to earlier cults, must certainly in many instances shed a sinister or sorcerous glamour over the invert, yet this exaggeration need not blind us to the existence of a residual fact behind it; and anyhow to a great many of the cases just mentioned it does not apply at all, since in them the question of one religion superseding another does not enter.

To come to more recent times, the frequency with which accusations of homosexuality have been launched against the religious orders and monks of the Catholic Church, the Knights Templars, and even the ordinary priests and clerics, must give us pause. Nor need we overlook the fact that in Protestant Britain the curate and the parson quite often appear to belong to some 'third sex' which is neither wholly masculine nor wholly feminine!

Granting, then, that the connection in question is to a certain degree indicated by the anthropological facts which we already possess—is there, we may ask, any rational ground for expecting this connection *a priori* and from psychological considerations? I think there is.

In the first place all science now compels us to admit the existence of the homosexual temperament as a fact of human nature, and an important fact; and not only so, but to perceive that it is widely spread among the various races of the earth, and extends back to the earliest times of which we have anything like historical knowledge. We can no longer treat it as a mere local and negligible freak, or put it in the category of a sinful and criminal disposition to be stamped out at all costs. We feel that it must have some real significance. The question is what that may be. The following is a suggestion that may cover part of the ground, though not I think, the whole.

In the primitive societies the men (the quite normal men) are the warriors and hunters. These are their exclusive occupations. The women (the normal women) attend to domestic work and agriculture, and their days are consumed in those labors. But in the evolution of society there are many more functions to be represented than those simple ones just mentioned. And we may almost think that if it had not been for the emergence of intermediate types—the more or less feminine man and similarly the more or less masculine woman—social life might never have advanced beyond these primitive phases. But the non-warlike men and the non-domestic women necessarily sought new outlets for their energies. They sought different occupations from those of the quite ordinary man and woman—as in fact they do to-day; and so they became the initiators of new activities. They became inventors and teachers of arts and crafts, or wizards (as they would be considered) and sorcerers; they became diviners and seers, or revealers of the gods and religion; they became medicine-men and healers, prophets and prophetesses; and so ultimately laid the foundation of the priesthood, and of science, literature and art. Thus—on this view, and as might not unreasonably be expected—it was primarily a variation in the intimate sex-nature of the human being which led to these important differentiations in his social life and external activities.

In various ways we can see the likelihood of this thesis, and the probability of the intermediate man or woman becoming a forward force in human evolution. In the first place, as just mentioned, not wholly belonging to either of the two great progenitive branches of the human race, his nature would not find complete satisfaction in the activities of either branch, and he would necessarily create a new sphere of some kind for himself. Secondly, finding himself *different* from the great majority, sought after by some and despised by others, now an object of contumely and now an object of love and admiration, he would be forced to *think*. His mind turned inwards on himself would be forced to tackle the problem of his own nature, and afterwards the problem of the world and of outer nature. He would become one of the first thinkers, dreamers, discoverers. Thirdly, some of the Intermediates (though certainly not all) combining the emotionality of the feminine with the

practicality of the masculine, and many other qualities and powers of both sexes, as well as much of their experience, would undoubtedly be greatly superior in ability to the rest of their tribe, and making forward progress in the world of thought and imagination would become inventors, teachers, musicians, medicine-men and priests; while their early science and art (for such it would be)—prediction of rain, determination of seasons, observation of stars, study of herbs, creation of chants and songs, rude drawings and so forth, would be accounted quite magical and divinatory.

Finally, and in the fourth place, I believe that at this stage an element of what might really be called divination would come in. I believe that the blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments would in some of these cases produce persons whose perceptions would be so subtle and complex and rapid as to come under the head of genius, persons of intuitive mind who would perceive things without knowing how, and follow far concatenations of causes and events without concerning themselves about the *why*—diviners and prophets in a very real sense. And these persons—whether they prophesied downfall and disaster, or whether they urged their people onward to conquest and victory, or whether by acute combinations of observation and experience they caught at the healing properties of herbs or determined the starry influences on the seasons and the crops—in almost all cases would acquire and did acquire a strange reputation for sanctity and divinity—arising partly perhaps out of the homosexual taboo, but also out of their real possession and command of a double-engine psychic power.

The double life and nature certainly, in many cases of inverts observed to-day, seems to give to them an extraordinary humanity and sympathy, together with a remarkable power of dealing with human beings. It may possibly also point to a further degree of evolution than usually attained, and a higher order of consciousness, very imperfectly realized of course, but indicated. This interaction in fact, between the masculine and the feminine, this mutual illumination of logic and intuition, this combination of action and meditation, may not only raise and increase the power of each of these faculties, but it may give the mind a new quality, and a new power of perception corresponding to the blending of subject and object in consciousness. It may possibly lead to the development of

that third order of perception which has been called the cosmic consciousness, and which may also be termed divination. "He who knows the masculine," says Lao-tsze, "and at the same time keeps to the feminine, will be the whole world's channel. Eternal virtue will not depart from him, and he will return again to the state of an infant." To the state of an infant!—that is, he will become undifferentiated from Nature, who is his mother, and who will lend him all her faculties.

It is not of course to be supposed that the witch-doctors and diviners of barbarian tribes have in general reached to the high order of development just described, yet it is noticeable, in the slow evolution of society, how often the late and high developments have been indicated in the germ in primitive stages; and it may be so in this case. Very interesting in this connection is the passage already quoted (page 7) from Elie Reclus about the initiations of the Esquimaux *angakok* and the appearance to him of his own Genius or Double from the world beyond, for almost exactly the same thing is supposed to take place in the initiation of the religious *yogi* in India —except that the god in this latter case appears to the pupil in the form of his teacher or *guru*. And how often in the history of the Christian saints has the divinity in the form of Jesus or Mary appeared to the strenous devotee, apparently as the culminating result of his intense effort and aspiration, and of the opening out of a new plane of perception in his mind! It may be that with every great onward push of the growing soul, and every great crisis in which as it were a sheath or a husk falls away from the expanding bud, the new order within, the new revelation, the new form of life, is seen for a moment as a Vision in glorious state of a divine being or God.[1]

IV.

This leads to another consideration, which ought not to be omitted here, as germane to the subject—namely, the frequency with which, among early peoples, the gods are represented—both in their forms and in their manners and customs—as hermaphrodite

[1]It is probable also that the considerable degree of continence, to which many homosexuals are by nature or external necessity compelled, contributes to this visionary faculty.

or bisexual. For clearly bisexuality links on to homosexuality, and the fact that this characteristic was ascribed to the gods suggests that in the popular mind it must have played a profound and important part in human life. I will therefore, in conclusion, give some instances of this divine bisexuality.

Brahm, in the Hindu mythology, is often represented as two-sexed. Originally he was the sole Being. But, "delighting not to be alone he wished for the existence of another, and at once he became such, as male and female embraced. He caused this his one self to fall in twain."[1] Siva, also, the most popular of the Hindu divinities, is originally bi-sexual. In the interior of the great rockhewn Temple at Elephanta, the career of Siva is carved in successive panels. And on the first he appears as a complete full-length human being conjoining the two sexes in one—the left side of the figure (which represents the female portion) projecting into a huge breast and hip, while the side right is man-like in outline, and in the centre (though now much defaced) the organs of both sexes. In the second panel, however, his evolution or differentiation is complete, and he is portrayed as complete male with his consort Sakti or Parvati standing, as perfect female beside him.[2] There are many such illustrations in Hindu literature and art, representing the gods in their double or bi-sexual role—*e. g.*, as Brahma Ardhanarisa, Siva Ardhanarisa (half male and half female).[3] And these again are interesting in connection with the account of Elohim in the 1st chapter of Genesis, and the supposition that he was such an androgynous deity. For we find (v. 27) that "Elohim created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him, *male and female* created he them." And many commentators have maintained that this not only meant that the first man was hermaphrodite, but that the Creator also was of that nature. In the Midrasch we find that Rabbi Samuel-bar-Nachman said that "Adam, when God had created him, was a man-woman (androgyne);" and the great and learned Mai-

[1]Quoted from the Yajur-Veda. See *Bible Folk-lore:* a study in Comp. Mythology. London 1884, p. 104.

[2]See *Adams Peak to Elephanta*, by E. Carpenter, 1903, p. 308.

[3]See drawings in *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism* by Thomas Inman, London, 1874.

monides supported this, saying that "Adam and Eve were created together, conjoined by their backs, but this double being God divided and taking one half (Eve) gave her to the other half (Adam) for a mate." And the Rabbi Manasseh-ben-Israel, following this up, explained that when "God took one of Adam's ribs to make Eve with," it should rather be rendered "one of his sides"—that is, that he divided the double Adam, and one half was Eve.[1]

In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (1 Adhyaya, 4th Brahmana) the evolution of Brahm is thus described[2]—"In the beginning of this [world] was Self alone, in the shape of a person. . . . But he felt no delight. . . He wished for a second. He was so large as man and wife together [*i. e.*, he included male and female]. He then made this his Self to fall in two; and thence arose husband and wife. Therefore, Yagnavalkya said: "We two are thus (each of us) like half a shell [or as some translate, like a split pea]." The singular resemblance of this account to what has been said above about the creation of Adam certainly suggests the idea that Jehovah, like Brahm (and like Baal and other Syrian gods), was conceived of as double-sexed, and that primitive man was also conceived of as like nature. The author (Ralston Skinner) of *The Source of Measures* says (p. 159) "The two words of which Jehovah is composed make up the original idea of male-female of the birth-originator. For the Hebrew letter Jod (or J) was the *membrum virile*, and Hovah was Eve, the mother of all living, or the procreatrix Earth and Nature."[3]

The tradition that mankind was anciently hermaphrodite is world-old. It is referred to in Plato's *Banquet*, where Aristophanes says:—"Anciently the nature of mankind was not the same as now, but different. For at first there were three sexes of human beings not two only, namely male and female, as at present, but a third besides, common to both the others—of which the name remains, though the sex itself has vanished. For the androgynous sex then

[1]These and some other references are taken from the learned and careful study "Ueber die androgynische Idee des Lebens" by Dr. von Römer of Amsterdam, which is to be found in Vol. 5 of the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle* Zwischenstufen. Leipzig, 1903.

[2]*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XV, p. 85.

[3]See H. P. Blavatsky, *Secret Doctrine*, Vol. II, p. 132, quoted in Vol. V, *Jahrbuch für S. L.*, p. 76.

existed, both male and female; but now it only exists as a name of reproach." He then describes how all these three sorts of human beings were originally double, and conjoined (as above) back to back; until Jupiter, jealous of his supremacy, divided them vertically "as people cut apples before they preserve them, or as they cut eggs with hairs"—after which, of course, these divided and imperfect folk ran about over the earth, ever seeking their lost halves, to be joined to them again.

I have mentioned the Syrian Baal as being sometimes represented as double-sexed (apparently in combination with Astarte). In the Septuagint (Hos. II, 8, and Zeph. 1, 4) he is called ἡ Baal (feminine) and Arnobius tells us that his worshippers invoked him thus[1] "Hear us, Baal! whether thou be a god or goddess." Similarly Bel and other Babylonian gods were often represented as androgyne.[2] Mithras among the Persians is spoken of by the Christian controversialist Firmicus as two-sexed, and by Herodotus (Bk. 1, c. 131) as identified with a goddess, while there are innumerable Mithraic monuments on which appear the symbols of two deities, male and female combined.[3] Even Venus or Aphrodite was sometimes worshipped in the double form. "In Cyprus," says Dr. Frazer in his *Adonis, etc.* (p. 432, note), "there was a bearded and masculine image of Venus (probably Astarte) in female attire: according to Philochorus the deity thus represented was the moon, and sacrifices were offered to him or her by men clad as women, and by women clad as men (see Macrobius *Saturn* III, 7. 2)." This bearded female deity is sometimes also spoken of as Aphroditus, or as Venus Mylitta. The worship of this bearded goddess was mainly in Syria and Cyprus. But in Egypt also a representation of a bearded Isis has been found,—with infant Horus in her lap;[4] while again there are a number of representations (from papyri) of the goddess Neith in androgyne form, with a male member (erected). And again, curiously enough, the Norse Freya, or Friga, corresponding to Venus,

[1]Inman's *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, Trubner (1874), p. 119.

[2]*Pagan Christs*, 1908, by John M. Robertson (1908), p. 308.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 307.

[4]See illustration *Jahrbuch für S. Z.*, Vol. V, p. 732.

was similarly figured. Dr. von Römer says:[1]—"Just as the Greeks had their Aphroditos as well as Aphrodite so the Scandinavians had their Friggo as well as their Friga. This divinity, too, was androgyne. Friga, to whom the 6th day of the week was dedicated, was sometimes thought of as hermaphrodite. She was represented as having the members of both sexes, standing by a column with a sword in her right hand, and in her left a bow."

In the Orphic hymns we have:—

> "Zeus was the first of all, Zeus last, the lord of the lightning;
> Zeus was the head, the middle, from him all things were created;
> Zeus was Man, and again Zeus was the Virgin Eternal."

And in another passage, speaking of Adonis:—

> "Hear me, who pray to thee, hear me O many-named and best of deities,
> Thou, with thy gracious hair . . . . both maiden and youth, Adonis."

Again with regard to the latter, Ptolemaeus Hephaestius (according to Photius) writes:—"They say that the androgyne Adonis fulfilled the part of a man for Aphrodite, but for Apollo the part of a wife."[2]

Dionysus, one of the most remarkable figures in the Greek Mythology, is frequently represented as androgyne. Euripides in his *Bacchae* calls him "feminine-formed" (θηγήρορφος) or thelumorphos, and the Orphic hymns double-sexed (διφής) or diphues; and Aristides in his discourse on Dionysus says:—"Thus the God is both male and female. His form corresponds to his nature, since everywhere in himself he is like a double being; for among young men he is a maiden, and among maidens a young man, and among men a beardless youth overflowing with vitality." In the museum at Naples there is a very fine sculptured head of Dionysos, which though bearded has a very feminine expression, and is remindful of the traditional head of Christ. "In legend and art," says Dr. Frazer,[3] "there are clear traces of an effeminate Dionysus, and in some of his rites and processions men wore female attire. Similar things are reported of Bacchus, who was, of course, another form of Dionysus. Even Hercules, that most mas-

[1]See his study already quoted, Jahrbuch, pp. 735-744.
[2]See *Jahrbuch*, as above, pp. 806, 807 and 809.
[3]*Adonis, etc.*, p. 432.

culine figure, was said to have dressed as a woman for three years, during which he was the slave of Omphale, queen of Lydia. "If we suppose," says Dr. Frazer,[1] "that queen Omphale, like queen Semirimis, was nothing but the great Asiatic goddess, or one of her Avatars, it becomes probable that the story of the womanish Hercules of Lydia preserves a reminiscence of a line or college of effeminate priests who, like the eunuch priests of the Syrian goddess, dressed as women in imitation of their goddess, and were supposed to be inspired by her. The probability is increased by the practice of the priests of Heracles at Antimachia in Cos, who, as we have just seen, actually wore female attire when they were engaged in their sacred duties. Similarly at the vernal mysteries of Hercules in Rome the men were draped in the garments of women."

Such instances could be rather indefinitely multiplied. Apollo is generally represented with a feminine—sometimes with an extremely feminine—bust and figure. The great hero Achilles passed his youth among women, and in female disguise. Every one knows the recumbent marble Hermaphrodite in the Louvre. There are also in the same collection two or three elegant bronzes of Aphrodite-like female figures in the standing position—but of masculine sex. What is the explanation of all this?

It is evident that the conception of double sex, or of a sex combining the characters of male and female, haunted the minds of early peoples. Yet we have no reason for supposing that such a combination, in any complete and literal sense, ever existed. Modern physiological investigation has never produced a single case of a human being furnished with the complete organs of both sexes, and capable of fulfilling the functions of both. And the unfortunate malformations which do exist in this direction are too obviously abortive and exceptional to admit of their being generalized or exalted into any kind of norm or ideal. All we can say is that—though in the literal sense no double forms exist—certainly a vast number of intermediate forms of male and female are actually found, which are double in the sense that the complete organs of one sex are conjoined with some or nearly all of the (secondary) characters of the other sex; and that we have every reason to believe that these

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

intermediate types have existed in considerable numbers from the remotest antiquity. That being so, it is possible that the observation or influence of these intermediate types led to a tentative and confused idealization of a double type.

Anyhow the fact remains—that these idealizations of the double type are so numerous. And it is interesting to notice that while they begin in early times with being merely grotesque and symbolical, they end in the later periods by becoming artistic and gracious and approximated to the real and actual. The Indian Siva with his right side masculine and his left side feminine is in no way beautiful or attractive; any more than Brahma with twenty arms and twenty legs. And the same may be said of the bearded Egyptian Isis or the bearded Syrian Aphrodite. These were only rude and inartistic methods of conveying an idea. The later spirit, however, found a better way of expression. It took its cue from the variations of type to be seen every day in the actual world; and instead of representing the Persian Mithra as a two-sexed monster, it made him a young *man*, but of very feminine outline. The same with the Greek Apollo; while on the other hand the female who is verging toward the male type is represented by Artemis or even by the Amazons.

It may be said:—we can understand this representation of intermediate forms from actual life, but we do not see why such mingling of the sexes should be ascribed to the gods, unless it might be from a merely fanciful tendency to personify the two great powers of nature in one being—in which case it is strange that the tendency should have been so universal. To this we may reply that probably the reason or reasons for this tendency must be accounted quite deep-rooted and anything but fanciful. One reason, it seems to me, is the psychological fact that in the deeps of human nature (as represented by Brahm and Siva in the Hindu philosophy, by Zeus in the Orphic Hymns, by Mithra in the Zend-avesta, etc.) the sex-temperament *is* undifferentiated;[1] and it is only in its later and more external and partial manifestations that it branches decidedly into male and female; and that, therefore, in endeavoring through religion to represent the root facts of life, there was always a tendency

[1]Compare the undifferentiated sex-tendencies of boys and girls at puberty and shortly after.

to cultivate and honor hermaphroditism, and to ascribe some degree of this quality to heroes and divinities. The other possible reason is that as a matter of fact the great leaders and heroes *did* often exhibit this blending of masculine and feminine qualities and habits in their actual lives, and that therefore at some later period, when exalted to divinities, this blending of qualities was strongly ascribed to them and was celebrated in the rites and ceremonies of their religion and their temples. The feminine traits in genius (as in a Shelley or a Byron) are well marked in the present day. We have only to go back to the Persian Bâb of the last century[1] or to a St. Francis or even to a Jesus of Nazareth, to find the same traits present in founders and leaders of religious movements in historical times. And it becomes easy to suppose the same again of those early figures—who once probably were men—these Apollos, Buddhas, Dionysus, Osiris, and so forth—to suppose that they too were somewhat bi-sexual in temperament, and that it was really largely owing to that fact that they were endowed with far-reaching powers and became leaders of mankind. In either case—whichever reason is adopted—it corroborates the general thesis and argument of this paper.

[1]Ali Muhammed, who called himself the Bâb (or Gate), was born at Shiraz in 1820. In 1844 he commenced preaching his gospel, which was very like that of Jesus, and which now has an immense following. In 1850 he was shot, at Tabriz, as a malefactor, and his beloved disciple Mirza Muhammed Ali, refusing to leave him, was shot with him.

RELIGION AND IMMORALITY.

By JOSIAH MORSE, Ph. D.,

George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

During the recent investigation of the "white slave trade" there was disclosed, among other painfully interesting things, the fact that the owner of a number of disorderly houses in Chicago and one of the largest dealers in this horrible business was president of an orthodox synagogue. Also that the "slaves," together with their cadets,—the thieves and gamblers and petty criminals who live upon their wages of sin,—have houses of worship, in which they hold regular religious services adhering strictly to the ritual; they own burial-places in which the interments are made in the prescribed religious manner, and, for the most part, they piously observe the Sabbath, all holy days and many of the religious precepts of their particular sects. Outwardly, at least, no difference can be discerned between them and moral people in the matter of religious observances.

At first blush, this impresses one as unspeakable mockery and desecration raised to the highest point, but further and deeper reflection makes it evident that of the many fallacies and errors of mankind, none has continued uninterruptedly through so many centuries, or been so widespread among the nations as that which regards religion and morality as bearing a Siamese twinlike relationship to each other. The source of this fallacy is, perhaps, the same as that from which so many other fallacies spring, namely, superficial observation and hasty conclusion. From the fact that the religious expressions of all peoples, whether written or spoken, contain moral precepts for the guidance of the multitude and abound in descriptions of heaven and hell, and rewards and punishments given for good and bad behaviour, it is inferred that religion and morality are necessarily and inseparably related. This, too, may be the explanation of the origin of that other error, but recently corrected after a long and

bitter warfare, that theology and science are inseparable. The religious literature of all peoples has much to say on problems that now belong peculiarly to science and philosophy. Hence the herculean struggle that was necessary before the latter could free themselves from the grip of theology. The first discoverers of the error of these tenets were led by the violence of their reaction to the equally fallacious conclusions that since ethics and science are independent of theology and oftentimes at variance with it, therefore religion is a snare and a delusion, or, worse still, a fraud invented by priests and rulers in order to frighten the credulous masses into complacent subjection to their yokes. Thus, Hobbes defined religion as "superstition born of fear and ignorance and sanctioned by the State," and Shelley declared it as one of his missions "to unveil the religious frauds by which nations have been deluded into submission." And so on for a host of eighteenth century writers belonging to this school.

The trouble on both sides seems to be a misunderstanding of the meaning and essence of religion. What is needed most of all is a thoroughgoing psychological analysis of the religious experience as such, *i. e.*, as differentiated from its objective expressions and from theology, with both of which it is usually confused. To be sure, hundreds of definitions of religion have been offered, but no two exactly agree, and all degrees of vagueness and confusion obtain. In general, it may be said that some writers define religion in terms of belief, some in terms of feeling, others in terms of will or conduct, and a few make it a composite of all these elements. Few, if any, seem to have realized clearly that religion is a human experience, not essentially unlike other emotional or spiritual experiences of man, such as love and hope and reverence, and the feeling of awe, and the sense of the sublime, and the yearning for the beautiful-good, the feeling of dependence, the need of help, etc., and that therefore it is as universal and as ineradicable as rational life itself. When understood in this larger sense, it is seen that while man may come to deny all the dogmas and doctrines contained in the creeds, he cannot cease to be religious on appropriate occasions, for the reason that his beliefs or disbeliefs do not affect his ability as a human being to experience the above-named states. Atheists, agnostics and indifferentists, "the men and women in whose lives God is a negligible quantity, who live without Him satisfied, and die without Him

happy," who care nothing for immortality or post-mundane matters, are frequently the most religious persons, their own assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. Religion is not something that can be possessed and lost and found again. It is not a perduring entity, but rather a passing state of consciousness, vivid, intense and soul-stirring at the time of experience, and afterwards cherished in memory as one of the few indescribably happy or sad experiences of life. Such a state of consciousness may be occasioned in the serious-minded by a betrothal, a birth, or death, a great calamity, a cataclysm of nature, a happy turn of fortune, an intense yearning or desire, or its realization, a need of help from a præterhuman source, "communion with Nature," star-gazing, soul-searching, or any other phenomenon or event that melts the heart, excites the will, or otherwise profoundly affects the elemental consciousness of man.

The religious is the rarest and grandest of all experiences, not the common, everyday one it is so often supposed to be. In the daily routine of our lives, taken up so much with automatic and habitual actions, petty cares and worries, social duties and pleasures, with money-making and position-holding or advancing, and the thousand and one other things that make up life, we are anything but religious. Those who are religious continuously are madmen, like the unfortunates who are obsessed by one overmastering idea, impulse or desire. Such an one, for example, was the Persian dervish, mentioned by Professor James, who "had kept his vow for more than thirty years never to employ his organs of speech otherwise than in uttering everlastingly the name of his favorite 'Ali, Ali!' In his own home, speaking with his wife, children and friends, no other word but 'Ali!' ever passed his lips. If he wanted food or drink or anything else, he expressed his wants still by repeating 'Ali!' Latterly his zeal assumed such tremendous proportions that, like a madman, he would race the whole day, up and down the streets of the town, throwing his stick high up into the air, and shriek all the while, at the top of his voice, Ali!'" During the Middle Ages, the monasteries and deserts and caves held many such religious madmen, since canonized, who employed equally grotesque and ofttimes inhumanly cruel means to exclude from their consciousness all ideas but that of God. Perhaps the above characterization of these religiouses is wrong. Perhaps their sainthood was far removed from insanity. If so, it

is equally true that it was as far removed from normality, for normal men enjoy a variety of experiences, and their streams of consciousness resemble more the Cataract of Lodore than the still waters of the Dead Sea.

Being a state of consciousness, the religious experience must be congruous with the individual's other states of consciousness. Religion cannot rise above its source. The savage and the illiterate cannot experience the refined religious sentiments enjoyed by the man of culture, nor the child or youth those of the adult and senescent. The only religious sentiment which one can have is that which his stage of mental and moral development renders him capable of experiencing. Not a baptism merely, but a miracle, would be required to make a Christian of a savage. And the same applies to the average child below the age of puberty, the feeble-minded and the insane. The child, no doubt, has the psychical elements out of which the religious experience is evolved, just as the seed has the promise of the fruit which will come in the fullness of time. But to say, therefore, that the average child is religious, or capable of receiving the usual advanced religious instruction, is equivalent to saying that the seed is the fruit or capable of being converted into fruit before the fullness of time.

Again, the *expression* of the religious sentiment varies according to individual and racial development and temperament. In some ages the religious consciousness expresses itself in song and dance, image-making and worshipping, elaborate ritual and ceremonial, fasting, flagellation, offering of plant, animal and even human sacrifices, indulgence in the wildest license, pitiless asceticism, outraging all human feelings and breaking all human ties, holocausts, inquisitions, wars, torture-chambers and other such mediums; in later ages, the religious consciousness finds vent in acts of kindness, in the establishment and conduct of charity organizations—hospitals, asylums, college settlements, People's Palaces, Toynbee Halls, Hull Houses, reform schools; in better educational facilities for the masses, moral crusades, the cure and prevention of diseases, tenement reforms, playgrounds, factory and child-labor laws, conservation of natural resources for future generations, and numerous other social reforms and ameliorations. In one age the all-important question is,—"Are you willing to be damned for the greater

glory of God?" In another it becomes,—"What and how much are you doing for your fellow-man?" Formerly, worship meant lip-, hand-, and knee-movements; to-day it means social service. "Church clothes" have their changing fashions, and creeds and dogmas grow old and die to make room for the new ones each generation brings forth, but the hearts of men beat healthier with the passing of the years, and not only does the religious experience become richer and more refined, but its expressions also become softer, more altruistic and beneficent.

If the foregoing analysis of the religious consciousness and its expressions be approximately correct, it will not be difficult to establish the thesis that religion and immorality are not necessarily incompatible. Being a relatively rare state, and occasioned by conditions which appeal to all human beings in greater or less degree, there is no inherent reason why a courtesan or a criminal may not, under such conditions, experience, even profoundly, the religious sentiment. Indeed, it is not at all improbable that the murderer going to the scaffold experiences it with an intensity unknown to men who live morally and die in their beds. And the courtesan, when she reflects upon her life and bemoans her unhappy lot, may feel it more deeply than her more fortunate sister who attends church with punctilious regularity. Who can picture the *de profundis* transfiguration when Madonna wakes in sorrowful Magdalene?

In the history of religions we find not a few sects among whom sexual orgies form a regular part of the religious ritual. In the religious ceremonies of the *Christs*, for example,—a peculiar mystical sect in Russia —after the performance of a series of grotesque and hysterical acts, which continue late into the night, they throw themselves pell-mell, men and women, on beds, benches, or upon the ground, and abandon themselves to nameless forms of depravity. "The carnal love which we have for our sisters," the men say, earnestly, in justification of their frenzied conduct, "is sanctified by the presence of the Holy Spirit among us." Even more revolting are the closing scenes of the religious ceremonies of the *Skoptsy* and other Russian sects. Herodotus, writing of the Chaldeans, says, "Every woman born in the country must enter once during her lifetime the enclosure of the Temple of Aphrodite; must there sit down and unite herself to a stranger," and Maspero states that

this custom still existed in the fifth century B. C. Orgies of this nature were also of common occurrence among the Algonquins, Iroquois, the tribes of Lower California, the Nicaraguans, the natives of Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay and Central America. Among the Corinthians, in certain Egyptian cities, and among the Brahmins, delubral hetairism was openly practised and regarded as a praiseworthy act. Many Greek and Roman temples were dedicated to the phallus and filled with hetaræ. In the Temple of Venus at Corinth, there were as many as a thousand sacred prostitutes, and an equal number in a temple of the same goddess at Eryx. Of the Armenians, Starbo writes, "It is the custom of the most illustrious personages to consecrate their virgin daughters to this goddess (Anaitis). This in no way prevents them from finding husbands, even after they have prostituted themselves for a long time in the Temple of Anaitis. No man feels on this account any repugnance to take them as wives." Among the Greeks and Romans, religio-sexual carousals were common during the festivals significantly named after the deities of love and increase, wine and flowers. The scathing satires of Juvenal, who in one place states that every temple in Rome was practically a licensed brothel; the writings of Suetonius, Tacitus, Seneca, St. Paul and St. Augustine constitute but a short chapter in the history of phallicism, and leave no doubt as to the *rapproachment* which can exist and has existed between religion, in its objective form, at least, and sexual immorality.

Murder and thieving are other crimes which have been associated with religion. The pages of history are crimson with the blood of men, women and children slaughtered in the name of religion. In ancient times, the offering of human sacrifices to appease the wrath or gain the favor of the deity was well-nigh universal, and at a much later date Queen Isabella confessed that "in love of Christ and His maid-mother," she "caused great misery and depopulated towns and districts, provinces and kingdoms." During the Middle Ages, Lecky tells us, it was usually regarded not only as innocent, but proposed as the highest virtue "to outrage the affections of the nearest and dearest relations. 'A young man,' it was acutely said, 'who has learnt to despise a mother's grief, will easily bear any other labor that is imposed upon him.'" Calvin had even more murder in his heart when he addressed the "wretches" who were willing to

allow the heretics to go unpunished, assuring them that such was not the will of God. "It is not without cause," he told them, "that God has destroyed all the human affections which have effeminated the heart. It is not without cause that He expels the love of the father for his children, the love of brothers and relatives, that He renders husbands immune to the flatteries and cajoleries of their wives; in short, that He strips men, so to speak, of their natures, in order that nothing may chill their zeal. Why does He require such an extreme, unyielding rigor, unless it is to show that one does not do Him the honor which one owes Him unless he prefers His service to every human regard, unless he spare neither parents, blood nor life, and unless he put himself in utter forgetfulness of all humanity whenever it is the question of fighting for His glory." In his own life, he fully exemplified his belief, especially in his cruel persecution of the noble Servetus.

Of the Jesuits, in this connection, it is sufficient to recall that their history yields a rich variety of crimes, committed *pro Deo et Ecclesia.* The most curious case, however, of murder based upon and justified by religion, is that furnished by the *Thugs* of India, who believed themselves "called" to be the slayers of men, and who committed their murders according to rigidly prescribed forms, and only after the performance of special religious rites. An oath taken upon the pickaxe was as binding to these religious assassins as the Koran is to the Mahommedan, or the Bible to the Christian.

Of religious thieves, Russia again furnishes interesting cases. In the northern part of that paradoxical country there is a religious sect which adores Saint Nicholas, the "chicken-thief," who is considered the patron saint of all thieves, and to whom they therefore pray for aid in their enterprises.

But we need not go to remote times and places for illustrations of the fact that the religious sentiment is found in the hearts and minds of the immoral and the criminal. Every prison in the land can furnish them in abundance, and beyond prison-walls, in banks and shops and offices, in homes and factories, on the stock exchange, in legislative halls, and even in the churches, the abundance is greater still. We are assuredly, none of us, saints in our daily struggles and competitions, and the line between the moral and the immoral cannot be sharply drawn. But we are human, and the meanest and hum-

blest among us has within him the capacity to experience, when conditions conspire to induce it, that peculiar compound state which is the sublimate, as it were, of the entire personality, mind and heart and will, and is called religion.

A single qualifying statement needs to be added. Under normal conditions, the religious state, when experienced, tends to expel immorality, and *vice versa*. In this sense, the two are incompatible, but in no other.

THE SIGN OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS.

By REV. ARTHUR E. WHATHAM.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, in his very interesting article on "The Cult of the Mother-Goddess," who is, he tells us, the one divinity found in all branches of the Semitic race (Biblical World, July, 1910, p. 27), thinks that we have her sign or symbol in the second of the eight standing stones of the High Place of Gezer recently discovered by Macalister (Bible Side-Lights, pp. 7, 47 ff.).

This particular stone, small and of conical top, a view of which will be found heading the other drawings and figures grouped numerically at the close of this article, Prof. Paton claims to represent the female breast, indicative of productiveness, the chief characteristic of the mother-goddess. Thus he writes,—"Amongst all the Semites a short cone shaped stone, representing the female breast, was the emblem of the mother-goddess" (p. 31). For reasons about to be given, it appears to us that Prof. Paton is in error as to the significance of the stone in question. In our judgment we have here the well-known ancient symbol of the male phallus. A triangular or cone shaped stone was undoubtedly the symbol of the mother-goddess. Not, however, as representing the female breast, but rather the natural triangular female pudendum, the form of which was employed as the symbol of the unmarried mother-goddess, the patron of sexual love (Barton-Semitic Origins, pp. 251, 253). Prof. W. Robertson Smith says, "In ancient times obscene symbols were used without offense to denote sex, the female symbols of this kind are found in many Phœnician grottos scratched upon the rock" (Religion of the Semites, p. 475). In fig. 2 we have a sketch of one of these graffiti from a grotto near Tyre, another cave near Gebal showing similar markings. Within the one we here produce we see what is evidently a female figure, with what is most probably the phallic hand above it. The following figs. 3-11, afford ample evidence that it was from the female pudendum that the idea of the

cone idol of the Paphian goddess had been derived. This has been reversed so as to stand on its base, but it is still the same triangular pudendum. Full proof of this will appear in the course of this article. Here to the sketches of the natural triangle we add figs. 12, 13. The first (12) from a Cyprian coin (*cf.* 56) shows the cone of the Paphian goddess with a head-piece and rudimentary arms, similarly conventionalized, while more clearly portrayed on fig. 16. The second figure shows on a coin of Mallos the same cone-idol, this time plain but with a triangle pudendum *in situ* at its left side made from three pieces of vine branch accompanied by two bunches of grapes one on either side of the cone. Nor must we neglect to add that in Southern Babylonia the mother-goddess was known as "the goddess of the vine" (Sayce—Relig. Anct. Bab., p. 240). Of the other figs. 3, 4 are plaques found by Bliss and Macalister in Palestine, and belong to pre-Israelite times (Excavations in Palestine, p. 136); 5, 6, 7—the first is from an Assyrian seal depicting the nude Istar, the second is a small votive figurine from Cyprus, while the third is a very archaic figure from Cyprus (Ohnefalsch-Richter-Kypros, pls. 31. I; 172t; 55.5). Figs. 8, 9 are figurines found by Peters at Nippur, the oldest Babylonian city (Nippur Vol. II, p. 37). Fig. 10 is a leaden idol discovered by Schliemann at Troy (Troja, p. XVII; Ilios, p. 276). Fig. II is one of a large number of statuettes found in the Cyclades, and which date from a remote period (Perrot and Chipiez—Art in Phyrgia, p. 329; Mosso Palaces of Crete, p. 271). Now when we compare all these triangles with the two Babylonian equivalent ideograms ▻▽ for the female pudendum, which evidently were equally established signs for "woman," since the similar Assyrian ideogram ▻ had the same double significance ("femelle ▻." Delitzsch-Entstehung des altes Schriftsystems, p. 16; ▻= pudenda muliebria. Thureau Dangin. Recherches sur I'Origine de l'Eritare Cuneiforme, p. 53), we at once see that Aristophanes' reference to the female pudendum under the term "delta," was more than a mere witty observation of this Greek writer (Lysistrata, 148 ff.). It shows clearly that the statement of Suidas in the 10th cent. A. D. referring to the fourth letter of the Greek Alphabet—Delta, is correct. "Delta, the fourth letter: it also signifies the vulva," since it was so understood by the Greeks as early as B. C. 500. I am inclined, therefore, to see in the ancient

form of the Hebrew letter—Daleth, and in the Greek—Delta, both of which have the same form of a triangle standing on its base, characters derived from the female pudendum reversed. Dr. Taylor thinks that the fourth letter of the Phœnician alphabet, the form of which is the same as that of the two letters just named, from which the latter two were evidently derived, had been taken from the shape of a tent door curtain, the screen which hung before the door (The Alphabet, Vol. I, pp. 148, 170). But Dr. Taylor himself admits that the people who originally named the letters (daleth, the 'door') had houses with windows. They therefore knew equally the quadrangular form of a door. Thus evidently it was not from the form of a tent door covering that the letters Daleth and Delta had been derived, but, as we claim from the form of the female triangular pudendum, the shape of which was adopted by the ancients as the sign of the physical doorway of human life, and then later as the universal generic sign for woman. The fact that as adopted into the alphabets, the natural sign was reversed, counts nothing, since the delta letter-form of this sign hangs suspended on the breast of the votive child-image, Esmun-Adonis, as used in the Cypriote Astarte-Aphrodite worship (fig. 14; *cf.* 15, 16). To-day Cypriote maidens wear in the same position a similarly suspended triangle in the belief that it will win them husbands (OR. pl. 33. 5, 6. text, pp. 205, 307). All of these triangular shaped figures, therefore, have one and the same origin, viz., the female pudendum. But this is not all, for while the triangle as a female emblem had its origin as indicated, it was after all not so much the pudendum *triangle* as its enclosed opening, the kteis or vulva proper, that it specially signified. In the passage already referred to in Aristophanes, the allusion is specifically to the exposure of this opening by the customary voluptuous practice of plucking out the hair by which it was ordinarily hidden, or covered (*cf.* 89). In Isa. 3. 17, the expression—"their secret parts," is literally—"their openings." Nor should this surprise us when we reflect that the Hebrew word (נְקֵבָה) for female means—"the perforated," *i. e.*, the one with a hole or opening. Herodotus tells us that he saw in Syrian Palestine pillars engraved with the genitals of a woman, which Sesostris had set up in token of the cowardice of the inhabitants (B. II. 102). Whatever was this conqueror's reason for so engraving these pillars, such a detailed exhibi-

tion could only have been viewed by the better element as a disgrace passed upon their women. This is proved not only by the passage from Isaiah already quoted but from chap. 7. 20. In this latter passage the prophet represents Yahweh as declaring that he will use the invading Assyrians as a razor to shave off "the hair of the feet" of the Israelites as a punishment for their wickedness. We have here a euphemism for the hair of the genitals, the exposure of which, by the denuding of their natural covering, was viewed as a disgrace.

Returning to the consideration of the ordinary and the reversed triangular pudendum. If the particular engraving (2) of the pudendum from the walls of the Tyrian grotto does enclose a female figure, it would merely be in keeping with what we find elsewhere, since a Carthaginian stele, fig. 15, shows Tammaz-Adonis, the crouching attendant of the local mother-goddess, Tanith, dwelling within a triangle. It is impossible to doubt that here we have a correspondence to the crouching child attendant of the Paphian goddess already referred to, the sole difference being that while the former sits within, the latter is external to the triangle which he carries as intimated suspended upon his breast (fig. 14). The other Carthaginian stele (fig. 16), which we compared with fig. 14, shows an empty, but as already indicated a humanized triangle with the phallic hand above it. It was customary with the ancients to humanize such phallic emblems by adding to them human extremities. Thus the Egyptians put arms and hands on the Ankh, the sign of life (OR. pl. 123; Budge-Book of the Dead, pl. 6. *cf.* fig. 17). That the upper projections on fig. 16, are conventionalized arms and hands can at once be seen by comparing them with the figure of the mother-goddess carved at either end of the stone chest discovered at Idalion (fig. 18). That we have here a common type showing this divinity in the act of blessing is proved by the numerous finds of small votive clay figurines showing the same attitude and found at the same place. Nor must we neglect to add that the Cyprian Artemis groves have yielded hundreds of terra-cotta votive images of this goddess, having, however, merely stumps for the full arms, so that here we have the origin of the head and arm stump-cone on one of the coins of Paphos already referred to (OR. I. 305. pl. 210, 20; fig. 19. *cf.* fig. 12). That the up-raised arms on both the statuettes and triangles

show the mother-goddess in the act of blessing, all the circumstances in the case fully demonstrate.

We shall again refer to this particular triangle when further considering its symbolical contents. Here, however, we call attention to two examples which we produce in figs. 20, 21, and which for the present completes the evidence already submitted that the triangle standing on its base is the same as the triangle standing on its apex. The first of these two figures is taken from a Babylonian seal and depicts the nude Istar as by order of Allat stripped of her entire clothing and jewels upon entering the lower world to obtain the waters of life wherewith to restore her young bridegroom Tammuz (Sayce—Bab. Assyr. Relig. p. 220). Ohnefalsch-Richter refers to this account of Istar in presenting this nude image of her, but he is silent touching her triangle head piece (I, 284. pl. 115, 5). As to the story referred to in the Babylonian poem which commemorates this event, Istar is described as wearing not merely a necklace but also ornaments of the breast. This is in keeping with the ornaments depicted on her numerous statuettes and figurines discovered in Babylonian, Susiana, Cyprus, and Naukratis. Here she wears not only the ordinary necklace, but also an elaborate bust-pendant suspended by its own separate neck chain. I shall illustrate and fully describe this pendant later. In the meantime, we may notice in the present instance the peculiar triangular crown on the head of the goddess. This can be nothing else than the reversed triangular pudendum of the goddess, here depicted as forming her crown. Fig. 21, was discovered by Schliemann at Troy, and is evidently part of a female image showing the triangular pudendum in exaggerated form, and reversed. Thus in outline it appears like the triangular crown (15).

In rejecting Prof. Paton's explanation of the small conical stone of the Gezer High Place, I am prepared to concede that in part it *may* be regarded as a female emblem, not, however, of the breast, but of the pudendum. At the same time I agree more with Macalister that it represents the male phallus. At least, he so implies (BSL, pp. 58, 63 ff.), and I personally hold this view.

The triangle capped post or pillar on Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician seals, which stands in company with what at first glance appears to be a gate-like structure, has been thought to represent

the male phallus; while the supposed gate has been viewed as the sign of the vulva opening or doorway of human life. In reality, however, the triangle itself represents the female pudendum, and the supposed gate, the male phallus.

The well-known traveller, Mr. H. S. Cowper, discovered in the mountains at the back of Tripoli an astonishing number of stone structures resembling doorways. In comparing these with what certainly appears to be a similar structure on the seals referred to, he came to the conclusion that they both represented one and the same object, viz., the Asherah of the Old Testament (The Hill of the Graces, pp. 176, 184 ff.). From the accompanying drawings (figs. 22, 23), the first taken from Mr. Cowper's book, and the second from Inman's Pagan and Christian Symbolism, p. 30, we are not surprised that he came to this conclusion, since the gate-like structure shown in both drawings is undoubtedly alike in both. Nevertheless, the resemblance is but superficial, although I do not know whether it could be called purely accidental for the following reasons. The first of the two figures we are considering shows, standing on the altar at the right side, what was originally part of the mythological Babylonian pillar-gate of the sun, composed of two revolving pillars, which subsequently, however, came to be represented by one pillar. But this also lost its original significance of a revolving pillar comprising one half of an idealized gate, becoming a stationary and solid pillar representing the phallic member of the sun-god Samas, a transition shown in figs. 24, 25 and 26. In the first figure the two pillar gates represent the womb of the morning, from which the sun daily issues upon the winding up of the two revolving pillars. At the close of the day the sun re-enters this gateway, when the two pillars unwind, thus closing up the passage or entrance. Part of this Ohnefalsch-Richter tells us (*ib.*, I. 182), but he failed to see at the back of this pictured poem the thought of the human gateway of physical life. This is more clearly shown in the Egyptian drawing, fig. 27, which we reproduce from Budge—"The Gods of the Egyptians," Vol. II, 0. 101. Here the rays of the sun, to which Nut is giving birth, fall on the head of the goddess Hathor, a cow deity and the personified Dawn, who, however, was identified with the Sun himself with feminine attributes (Renouf—Relig. Anct.Egypt,p.166). A drawing given by Maspero (The Drawn of Civilization—p. 79,

cf. p. 141) shows the head of Hather within the sun's disc, which rests within what appears to be a hollow block, but which corresponds to the mountain hollow from which the Babylonian sun-god Samas is emerging as shown in fig. 26. The two trees in the Egyptian picture, growing respectively on the mountain of sunrise and the mountain of sunset are sycamores, the one being the embodiment of Hathor, and the other of Nut. In both these Babylonian and Egyptian presentations, therefore, we have the same thought behind them, viz., the human doorway of life. Neither Ohnefalsch-Richter nor Budge, however, say anything about this thought. It was left to Dr. Clay Trumbull in his "Threshold Covenant" to call the attention of scholars to this point. In the course of his argument, in which he refers to the swinging or revolving pillars of the Babylonian sun-gate, he says, "A doorway of two upright stone pillars with or without an overlaying stone across them, such was the first shrine, and its sill the first altar, the whole being the outcome of the earlier thought which saw in woman the doorway of physical (human) life, and the first altar of sacrifice (p. 105. *cf.* in order pp. 102, 66, 103, 3, 252, 198, 197).

And now comes an unexpected confirmation of all this. Dr. Trumbull based his conclusion upon what he believed to be primitive remains of the threshold worship in various parts of the world, and he specially mentioned Phœnicia and Carthage (pp. 102, 107). Now look at Mr. Cowper's "senam" (fig. 22), the name he himself gave to these structures, and which is Arabic for "idol." It is, as I said, one of many similar structures he discovered in the mountains of Tripoli just behind Carthage, which he concludes were built by the Phœnician colonists before the time of the Romans (p. 188 ff.). Their ritual use was, he thinks, for the regeneration of victims passed between their jambs (185), before which in nearly every case he discovered a flat or sill-like altar (p. 148 ff.). He then compares these senams to the Hebrew Asherah, which he views as probably a symbolical effigy of Ashtoreth (p. 184 ff.), and which he sees in the gate-like structure so frequently exhibited on ancient Semitic seals in company with a cone capped staff, both structures standing upon or near to an altar as in figure 23.

It is strange that Mr. Cowper should have come so near to the true explanation of these senams and yet have practically missed it.

Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," relates that some Hindoo ambassadors to England were considered to have so polluted themselves by their contact with strangers that upon their return their prince ordered them to be passed through a golden yoni made for the purpose (Vol. I. p. 307; III. 397 p. ff.). They had passed through the Hindoo symbol of the doorway of human life and so had been regenerated, or born again. In Mr. Cowper's senams we have, as Trumbull's evidence confirms, one form of the Semitic symbol of the same doorway. They do not, therefore, correspond to the gate-like structure on the Semitic seals, since these are sun pillars, and correspond to the sun pillars of the Old Testament. They correspond rather to the cone capped staff on these seals, which represents the female triangular pudendum reversed, a correspondence further borne out in our second figure (23) by the respective signs of the sun and moon deities above their separate symbols, which also carry on their own sides their further respective signs of the kteis and the male palm.

But again, it is impossible to doubt that in the star crowned staff on the Babylonian seal (fig. 24), we have a combined symbol indicative of the significance of the fuller pictorial representation. It is in sign language the story of a celestial birth more humanized with greater detail in the Egyptian representation shown in fig. 27, but here, however, exhibiting the natural triangle out of which a star emerges. We have in fact in this emblem the well-known Babylonian symbol of the goddess Ishtar. On another Babylonian seal we see Ishtar holding her star crowned staff in front of the moon-god, Sin, but here the other end of her staff is plain, without any ornamentation whatever (Maspero—Dawn of Civilization, p. 659). Ishtar was viewed as the morning star which heralds the rising sun. She was also viewed as the great mother-goddess personifying fertility. These two ideas are associated in her symbol as shown in fig. 24. The star indicates her office of herald to the rising sun; while the triangle attached to the other end of the staff indicates her characteristic function of fertility.

I may here add that in what I have said I do not mean to imply that the ordinary phallic pillar was derived from the Babylonian sun-gate pillar, but only that here we have the origin of the OT

sun pillars, regarded as equally phallic pillars with the older Baal pillar.

This brings me to reconsider the pillars seen by Herodotus in Syria-Palestine, since it would seem that his explanation of them is exceedingly doubtful. He says that they were erected by Sesostris, that is, Rameses II (Wright—Empire of the Hittites, p. 20). Herodotus was not born until 484 B. C., that is until 768 years after Sesostris is assumed to have died, Toffteen dating the latter 1319-1253 B. C. (Ancient Chronology, p. 231). During all this period the Syrians were fierce and war-like people, and it is not to be thought for a moment that they would have suffered to exist evidence of cowardice on their part set up by a foreign monarch in the distant past. It is much more likely that the monuments seen by Herodotus were Astarte pillars distinguished as such by the triangle emblems engraved upon them (Sesostris, Ency. Brit). There is of course the matter of the inscription. But we do not gather that this explained the presence of the female signs, the reason for their existence evidently being supplied by Herodotus himself. There is, however, a further matter which few writers seem to have noticed, or even when noticed has sufficient stress been laid upon it. Sesostris was not the victorious conqueror of the people of Syria-Palestine as Herodotus infers. He was compelled to make a treaty of peace with the Hittites, from whom he encountered a practically successful stubborn opposition to his northern invasion, a treaty which included their allies, the Syrian kings (Wright—EH. pp. 21, 53). No such monuments, therefore, as described by Herodotus could have been erected by Sesostris in Syria-Palestine. The pillars he did see, consequently, must have been Astarte pillars, as the writer of the article—Sesostris—in the Ency. Brit. concluded. As for the inscription which Herodotus says he also saw on these pillars, he must have colored or distorted it in attempting to explain the origin of the engraved female emblems.

From the evidence so far submitted it will have been seen that we have practically been discussing the form and significance of the Hebrew Asherah, and it is therefore now time to ask, whether it is possible to determine these two points, since one of the last writers to allude to the subject seems to think that it is not. Thus he refuses to occupy space with what he terms "the profitless discussion of a

very obscure subject," although he adds, "we may content ourselves with noting that the most generally received theory is that it was a wooden pillar erected as a representative of a sacred tree"(Macalister—BSL, p. 64, ff.).

We are sorry that so distinguished an explorer and writer as Mr. Macalister should have thus expressed himself, since we think, notwithstanding that other eminent scholars have similarly concluded (W. R. Smith—LRS, p. 188; Allen—Asherah, HDB; Moore —Asherah; Massabah. Ency. Bib.), that we have abundant evidence to determine both the points in question.

Referring to the essential features of a Canaanite high-place, Mr. Macalister tells us that it consisted, amongst other objects, of an altar, a pillar, or pillars, and an Asherah. The pillar or pillars, as I have already said, he implies, without actually saying so, were male phallic emblems, Dr. Peters stating this plainly (Early Hebrew Story, p. 109); while even Dr. Paton sees in all the stones of the Gezer high place, except the smallest, phallic emblems of the subordinate male divinities who were consorts of the mother-goddess (BW. p. 31). The second stone, as already stated, he thinks was a female emblem significant of the breast of the mother-goddess. It will be recalled that I conceded that this stone *may* have been a female emblem representing the *pudendum muliebria* at the top of a stone pillar, although I added I did not think it was. Indeed it would seem that the apparent marks of kisssing which the smooth places on the top of this stone exhibit, evidence that it was the well-known male phallic emblem. Both Abraham and Jacob are referred to in the OT in circumstances depicting the special sanctity which the ancient Semites accorded to the male phallus (Gen. 24. 2; 47. 29). This swearing by "God's Phallus," is even to-day a form of oath practised by some of the inhabitants of Palestine, including women (Curtiss—Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day, p. 113; Thigh—HDB). There are also modern instances of the kissing of the real member, which tend to show that the marks on the top of the small stone in question are, as have been supposed, the result of this form of reverence (Westeeropp—Primitive Symbolism, p. 42; Sex Mythology, p. 33; Picart's "Religious Ceremonies," pl. 71). Adoration is also paid to the female member, but not in the same manner, which tends to prove that the small stone under discussion

was the male and not the female emblem of deity (Higgins—Hebrew Idolatry and Superstition, p. 24; Curtiss—*ib.*, p. 115). Dr. Paton further tells us that two of the stones, which he had already described as emblems of the male phallic member, the third and eighth of the eight standing stones, have markings upon them which he thinks represent the inverted breast of the mother-goddess, *or* the female counterpart of the standing stones, by which evidently he means the female triangular pudendum. He then infers that the pillars seen by Herodotus were stones with markings of a similar character and significance to the cup markings on the third and eighth of the Gezer standing stones. We may accept his second explanation as possible, rejecting the first as impossible, but even in that case these two stones would be Astarte pillars, and not pillars of male divinities, as previously stated by Dr. Paton. If we are correct, then it would further seem that an Astarte pillar did not always stand alone in juxtaposition to a single Baal or Sun-pillar, such as in the case of the twin pillars we have already considered, but sometimes as one of a mixed number of male and female pillars. This apparent fact tends to support our contention that the triangle capped stone of the Semitic seals was an Asherah post, the sign in these instances being on the top instead of on the side as in the case just considered. That the cup marks may possibly represent the female pudendum is further shown by the opening beneath one of them which is described by Macalister, and which evidently in the idea conveyed corresponds to Mr. Cowper's "senams." It is the doorway of human life through which the victim to be regenerated, or the blood of the same, male or female as the case might be, had to pass.

But the main feature of this discussion centres in the question as to the actual existence of a goddess Asherah. This has been denied by Profs. W. R. Smith, W. C. Allen, George Moore, and others; while Profs. Sayce, Hommel, Barton, Toy, and many more, have expressed their belief in the existence of such a deity. The matter, however, seems recently to have been finally settled in favor of the last scholars, since Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, in Hastings's One Vol. Bib. Dic. after quoting I K. 18. 19; 15, 13; 11. 21. 7, as intimating the existence of the goddess, says,—"A tablet found at Taanach shows that a goddess Ashirat or Asharah was worshipped

from remote antiquity by the Western Semites. There need be no hesitation therefore in accepting the above passages as evidence of her worship in OT times even within the temple itself." He subsequently speaks of "the proved existence of the goddess Asherah whose place," *i. e.*, at the side of Baal, "was later taken by Astarte" (Asherah).

In Judges III. 7, we read (Heb; *cf.* RV),—"the children of Israel served the Baalim and the Asheroth," plur. of Asherah; while in II. II (Heb. and RV), that they "served the Baalim," adding in ver. 13 (Heb.), *the* Baal and *the* Ashtaroth," plur. of Ashtoreth the Hebrew Astarte. (*Cf.* "Baal and the Ashtaroth. RV). Black, in the "Smaller Cam. Bib.—Judges," commenting on this last verse, tells us that "the author speaks not of many local Baalim, but of one Baal, perhaps the Tyrian Baal Melcarth." Moore, however, more correctly refers to the singular form being used here "for the whole genus false god in contrast to Yahweh" (Judges p. 69). The main point, however, in connection with the above passage is that many scholars have assumed that the reference to "the Ashteroth" in III. 7, was a mistake, owing to the fact that there was no such goddess as Asherah, Ashtaroth being the name they should have used, as in II. 13. They themselves were mistaken, however, since we now know that there *was* a goddess Asherah, a mother-goddess, equivalent to the Phœnician or Syrian Astaret, and perhaps older than Astarte, so that it is now quite understandable how the writer or editor of Judges used or left unaltered the reference to Asherah in this verse as equivalent to Ashtoreth in the preceding passage.

But as well as a goddess Asherah there also existed her image or symbol, used equally as the emblem of Astarte and corresponding to the stone phallic pillar, the emblem of Baal. Thus Prof. Toy, writing on Ezekiel 6. 4, says, "The Kammanin or sun pillars were posts, pillars, or obelisks, connected with the worship of a Baal of the Sun, as the Asherahs were with that of Astarte (*cf.* Isa. 17. 8); they stood beside the altars, and were probably ancient forms and emblems of the deity" (SBOT).

Here Prof. Toy views two symbols, representing respectively a male deity, a Baal and his female consort, the goddess Asherah, as standing beside an Israelite high-place altar. The passage he alludes

to in Isaiah infers this (see I K. 14. 23; II. 18. 4. *cf.* Ex. 34. 13; Deu. 7. 5), while it further describes these particular symbols, *i. e.*, symbols regarded as the usual accompaniment of a high-place altar, as being the work of men's fingers, and thus as artificial and not natural emblems. The well-known Variorum Teacher's Bible (AV) explains the word "groves" of Ex. 34. 13, as "Asherahs (*i. e.*, emblems *of* the goddess of that name);" while the RV, which more correctly gives "Asherim" in the text, says, "Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess of that name."

It is a great pity that Prof. W. R. Smith changed his earlier opinion as to the existence of the goddess Asherah and her special symbol, both of which he then believed to have existed (Baal—Ency. Brit.). Subsequently, however, he claimed, "the opinion that there was a goddess Asherah, and that trees or poles of the same name were her particular symbols, is not tenable" (Lec. Relig. Sem. p. 188). This evidently led Prof. Moore to write,—"the shape of an Asherah is unknown. The assertion often made that in the religion of Canaan the massebas (*i. e.*, pillars) were sacred to male, the Asheras (*i. e.*, posts), to female deities, is supported by no proof whatever" (Asherah—Ency. Bib.).

The evidence we have already offered, with more to follow, shows that Prof. W. R. Smith was correct in his earlier and not in his later view of the matter.

In a former article in this magazine, entitled—"The Origin of Human Sacrifice,"—in rejecting the view that the OT Asherah-post had been derived from, and continued to represent, a tree as an object of worship, I claimed that its origin was to be found in the reverence paid from earliest times to the physical doorway of human life, in other words, the *pudenda muliebria*, which it was made to resemble at first by double wooden posts representing the two jambs of an ordinary doorway, and later by one post, the altar-Asherah of the OT, capped by, or engraved on the side with, a triangle (pp. 36, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 57—March, 1906). Further study, however, of this particular problem has convinced me that while I was correct in my description of the significance of the Asherah which stood in company with a Baal or Sun-pillar beside the Hebrew-Canaanite altar, nevertheless, this single Canaanite-Hebrew Asherah-post had had its origin in, and still included, the

idea of tree worship, although the latest writers, who respectively treat this point, Konig (HDB—Symbol), and Kautzsch (*ib.*—Relig. of Israel), are still in error in indorsing the prevailing view that the Asherah post was merely or *mainly* "a substitute for a sacred tree. The fact is, that it primarily represented, equally with its accompanying while separately independent stone pillar, a phallic symbol, the stone pillar standing for the male phallus, the wooden pillar, with its accompanying triangle, for the female pudendum. At the same time the wooden post, while used mainly to exhibit the female triangular pudendum, still included, as a secondary matter, the thought of Asherah as a tree-goddess, and so, while specifically a vehicle for exhibiting a triangle, the well-known sign of the mother-goddess, it also represented a sacred tree. When the triangle was later engraved on the single stone pillar, or when two plain stones or wooden posts in juxtaposition were set up to symbolize the same thought of the human doorway of life, the idea of tree worship had ceased to be included in such symbols.

Again, while in my former article alluded to above I had there, as I have done here, associated the Asherah triangle symbol with tree worship in one representative figure, a pole engraved with or capped by a triangle, I yet, nevertheless, claimed that *here* we had two originally separate and distinct ideas, viz., tree and doorway worship respectively, under one form or figure (pp. 44, 56 ff.). The error I then made in the case of the OT Asherah was in separating these two ideas, the fact being that the triangle on the wooden post was itself directly connected with the phallic conception of the wooden post which bore it, in the latter's emblematic significance of the tree-goddess it represented. There can be no doubt that the triangle as a female phallic sign was of earlier origin than a tree or tree stump or post employed as a similar sign, since the more natural sign would necessarily be recognized and used much sooner than the more artificial sign of a tree or tree post. At the same time, when in conjunction with an altar and pillar, a tree, *stump* or *post* was first used to represent the goddess supposed to reside within it, we cannot but think that its triangle ornamentations must originally have accompanied its own adoption as a female phallic emblem. Further, as the triangle was the earlier and more natural female phallic emblem, it would follow that after all it was this, and not so much

the thought of a tree, that was specially emphasized in the triangle capped or engraved tree stump or post.

Once more, if the above conclusion is correct it seems that I was in error in claiming that the original form of the Asherah was composed of two posts, and when later composed of one this was not to indicate a tree but merely the physical doorway of human life indicated in the triangle exhibited upon it. Analogy and associated circumstances indicate that Asherah, like Ishtar, being a tree goddess, was naturally at the opening of the history of Israel represented by a wooden pole or post indicative of an original tree worship. I cannot here stop to discuss the origin of tree worship in all its assumed aspects. It is enough for us to recognize that as associated with the nature worship of the Canaanites and Canaanite-Hebrews it indicated female productiveness, and so female divinity, as manifested in the fruit produced. The early Semites, while still in the primitive home, had viewed the date-palm as a sacred tree, and from Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders we learn that in most instances this was the female tree. Abundant evidence exists to show that the female palm-tree played a very important rôle in ancient Israel (Barton —SO, pp. 89, 90). The tree of knowledge, in Eden, from which the fruit was disobediently plucked, was evidently viewed as a female date-palm. Many passages in the OT associate cherubim with palm-trees (I K. 6. 29); while they also appear on the veil in front of the Holy of Holies (Ex. 26, 31), in both cases acting as guardians. Prof. Kelso is inaccurate in saying that "As to the figure of the cherubim in the sanctuaries we have no clue" (Cherubim—HDB) since Prof. Sellin's discovery in Palestine of an altar throne of Solomon's age, carved with figures of lions and creatures with human heads and a lion's body with wings, shows definitely what was the Hebrew-Canaanite conception as to the form of these guardian beings. The form of this creature was evidently derived from Babylonia, where we find it in architectural association with lions (Perrot and Chipiez—Art in Chaldea and Assyria, Vol. I, pp. 214-216) exactly as shown on this altar throne. On a Cyprian scarab two similar sphinxes are shown guarding a sacred tree, which, although conventionalized out of all appearance to a real tree, we know by analogy to represent the female date-palm (fig. 28; *cf.* Pl. 1, 6—Toy's Eze. Polychrome Ed.).

If, then, in Babylonia and elsewhere the mother-goddess was assumed to have her abode in the female date-palm, with which consequently she became identified (Barton—SO. pp. 90, 92, 179), so also in Canaan, Asherah would be similarly identified with the female date-palm. Thus it follows that while, as I have shown, the OT Asherah post with its exhibited triangle primarily signified the doorway of human life, included in this thought was the associated idea of tree worship indicated in the tree stump or post carrying this triangle.

My change of mind on the one or two points associated with the Asherah post, which, I repeat, did not after all affect my main conclusion, followed upon a closer study of early tree planting and worship as connected with similar examples in the OT, and the accompanying illustrations (figs. 29-35) show how naturally this was brought about.

Figs. 29, 30 are copies of Cyprian seals showing the planting of sacred trees accompanied by sacrifice, signified in the ox-head accompaniment. Here we are at once reminded of the tamarisk tree planted by Abraham, who then and there called upon the name Yahweh (Gen. 21. 33). This calling upon the name of Yahweh included also the erecting of an altar with its customary sacrifice, as well as the planting of a sacred tree (Driver—Genesis, p. 71, *cf.* Gen. 12. 7; 15. 7-18; Jer. 34. 18). Fig. 31, is from a Hittite inscription, and most probably represents the planting by the human hand of an unadorned tree post. That tree posts or poles as well as living trees were planted or erected is seen in fig. 32, taken from a Cyprian seal cylinder, one of many examples. Prof. W. R. Smith thinks that a dead tree post as a sacred object was often planted in the ground like our Maypole (Relig. Sem., p. 138), an opinion fully warranted, as we shall soon see.

From the study of the significance of the foregoing and other corresponding drawings, I at once saw that the writer of Deu. 16. 21, had in mind an ancient, and still at the time of his writing an existing, belief in trees as the abode of divinity, which belief he rightly assumed would be perpetuated in the thought of the people if they were left without a strong prohibition against the erecting of the wooden asherah post, particularly if made from the timber of any one of the specially recognized sacred trees. The early Israelites

had shared with their neighbors the belief that divinity, not excluding even their own god Yahweh, dwelt in trees as a more or less permanent abode (Gen. 12. 6-8; 13. 18; 21. 33; 26. 25; Ex. 3. 2-4; Deu. 33. 16; *cf.* McNeile—Exodus, p. 16). In fig. 33, we have a drawing of a coin of Myra illustrating this belief with reference to the mother-goddess as worshipped by the Lycians. In fig. 34, we have a representation of the child Mithra rising from the cypress, which at once puts us in mind of the angel of Yahweh as dwelling in the burning bush. In fig. 35, we have an example of a dance round a sacred tree, the Attis-pine. It was found in pieces by Ohnefalsch-Richter in the grove of Astarte-Aphrodite at Chytrio, Cyprus, and by him put together. It was the custom to set up this tree near the altar of the goddess, not a growing tree, but a tree cut from the near grove and set up, usually by sticking it into the ground, or by placing it upon a support as in fig. 32 (OR. 'Cyprus' pl. 74. 4; text, p. 128 ff.). Now all this has a direct bearing on Deu. 16. 21, which refers, however, not to the planting of a tree, or a post representing a tree, but directly and specially to the setting up of the particular sign of the Canaanite mother-goddess Asherah, the female triangular pudendum which the Canaanites, like the Babylonians and Assyrians, exhibited on a wooden post set up in juxtaposition to a pillar which stood alongside of the altars erected by all three peoples under *living* trees (I K. 14. 23; II K. 17. 10; Jer. 17. 2; *cf.* Isa. 17 8; Jer. 3. 20). Indirectly, and therefore secondarily, there was included, however, in the wooden post itself the associated thought of the tree in which the goddess Asherah like the goddess Ishtar was presumed to reside.

That my conclusion is correct is strengthened by fig. 36, which shows on a terra-cotta votive plaque from Carthage the head of the cow symbol of the Semitic mother-goddess of North Africa, Tanith. It is flanked on the one side by the special sign of the universal Semitic mother-goddess, the triangle; and on the other, by the so-called herald's staff of Hermes, on which we see the usual two serpents entwined. Now just as the staff here, which in this instance represents Tanith's male partner, Baal, is subordinate to the two serpents it carries, so also the staff carrying the triangle is subordinate to this particular symbol. Much speculation has been given to the elucidation of the significance of the serpents on this staff.

But long before the existence of the Greek Hermes, the Egyptian goddess, Quadesch, corresponding to Astarte-Aphrodite, and equally worshipped as the nature goddess of love, beauty, and fertility, was represented holding sometimes one, and sometimes two serpents in her left hand (OR. pl. 94, 8; 122, 1; Budge—Gods of the Egyptians, Vol. II, p. 280). She is usually represented in the form of an actually naked woman, and at such times the triangular pudendum is specially emphasized (fig. 37). As such she appears also in ancient Assyrian remains (Layard—Nineveh and Its Remains, p. 160). We must therefore get behind the Caduceus of Hermes in any attempt to explain the serpents on his staff.

Says Havelock Ellis,—"There is no fragment of folk-lore so familiar to the European as that which connects woman with the serpent." And he asks, "How has it happened that in all parts of the world the snake, or his congeners, the lizard and the crocodile, have been credited with some design sinister or erotic, on women" (Psychology of Sex, Vol. II, p. 236). To his question, however, he attempts no definite answer, although he does not neglect to note that at Rome the serpent was the symbol of fecundation, and often figures at Pompeii as the *genius patrisfamilias*, the generative power of the family (*ib.*, p. 238). In his volume, "Man and Woman" p. 15, he does not hesitate to see in the Hebrew story of the Garden of Eden an erotic connection in the association of Eve with the serpent. Long before this, however, Sir George W. Cox, in his "Mythology of the Aryan Nations"—had similarly expressed himself, explaining that it was "the symbol of the Phallos in its physical characteristics that suggested the form of the serpent" (p. 353), views which have been more recently put forth by Crawley as correct conclusions (The Mystic Rose, pp. 193, 382). Nor is this at all surprising to students of sex-worship, who are well aware that in the ancient Babylonian theology the serpent and the phallus were identical. This, however, seems to have been definitely pointed out, that is, so far as I am aware, for the first time by that clever and original observer, the late Dr. Clay Trumbull, who in his "Threshold Covenant," p. 234, calls attention to the serpent phallus on the female dragon Tiamat, and the male god of the underworld, Nergal. Dr. Barton, writing to me in July, 1902, in answer to my having pointed out to him the connection between

the serpent and the phallus on the female dragon Tiamat, wrote, "Your point about Tiamat had not occurred to me, but from my belief concerning the general development of Semitic deities I am quite prepared to see in it a happy insight on your part into the real facts." From what I have said it will have been seen that this happy thought must be credited to Dr. Trumbull. He did not do more, however, than point this fact out, and, consequently, there is some force in the remark of Prof. Hilprecht, occurring in a letter published in the "Appendix" to Dr. Trumbull's work, "One cannot help wishing you might have gone beyond the scope of your book and expressed yourself more in detail as to the precise connection in which the tree and phallus worship stand to the threshold in each of the principal ancient religions, and what *rôle* the snake played in the further development or determination of the primitive rite so excellently discussed by you" (p. 312). A short time before Dr. Trumbull's death, in answer to some correspondence which I had sent him on the subject, he wrote, that he must leave to other younger investigators to complete the evidence which he had outlined. Amongst these he was good enough to include me, so that I feel it a sort of obligation to sustain by further detail the conclusion he had accepted from his own research.

I begin, then, by giving a sketch of the lower part of the bodies of the respective Babylonian monsters, Nergal and Tiamat, figs. 38 and 39, the first copied from Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization" (*Cf.* Perrot and Chipiez's "History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria." Vol. I, p. 350). Here (38) the phallus follows the form and carries the head of a serpent. Fig. 39 is copied from Davis's "Genesis and Semitic Tradition," p. 4. Here the serpent penis is even more plainly indicated than in the drawing of Nergal. Nor can there be any point drawn from the fact that in some designs of Tiamat a male dragon is represented. In the present case Tiamat is referred to on the tablets narrating this episode as a female monster, and is so generally referred to. Besides, there is another design which depicts the combat between Marduk and Tiamat, and here the monster is a serpent with a dragon's head, while the usual sign of the female, the diamond shaped figure representing the female sexual opening, alongside of the serpent, plainly in this instance indicates its sex (Davis, *ib.*, p. 70). Now there is nothing very remarkable after all

in the serpent appearing on the female Tiamat in the place of the phallus on the male Nergal. The Berlin Museum contains female idols from New Guinea, one of which shows a small snake with a round head and closely resembling a penis at the mouth of the vagina; while another shows a snake-like crocodile crawling out of the vulva (Ellis, *ib.*, p. 234). These people possess a folklore story which represents a god in the form of an eel approaching a woman when bathing (Crawley—Mystic Rose, p. 193). We can now understand why even to-day a serpent is supposed to confer fertility on barren women, and why barren women and young girls approach stone phalli for the same object (Trumbull, *ib.*, p. 259; Curtiss—Prim. Sem. Relig. To-Day, p. 59). We can now further understand why the Cosmic egg was coiled round with a serpent, which sometimes had the head of a cock. In fig. 40, we give an illustration of a netted cortina encircled by a snake with a cock's head, and reproduced from Roux and Barré's "Herculanum et Pompei" (Vol. II, pl. 57). The explanation, however, which is given of this object is entirely misleading. They call it "the cover of a tripod," and again, "the cortine, one of the parts of the tripod," evidently identifying it with the Delphic tripod. But here the ancient writers present us with no data which in any manner would give us a clue as to the form of the Delphic tripod. Smith's and Anthon's Classical Dictionaries represent the Delphic tripod as having a circular flat top upon which the Pythia sat to prophesy, and which they call the cortina; while Harper's dictionary depicts it as having a concave cover, which it specially refers to as the cortina.

It is Strabo who gives us the fullest description of the Delphic Tripod, and all he says is, "The place where the oracle is delivered, is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the mouth is placed a lofty triped on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic response in verse or prose (B. IX. III. 5).

It is thus very evident that the Delphic Tripod was merely a large three-legged stool or seat with a circular flat top, not necessarily either caldron or bowl shaped beneath, like the modern kettle-drum, although it may have been and possible was so. For the tympanum-drum in use by the priests of Cybele, the Greeks and the Romans,

seems from descriptions and pictorial representations to have included not only tambourines but instruments convex on one side like the kettle-drum (Ency. Brit.—Drum; Liddell and Scott—*Tumpanon*). It would seem, therefore, that, as we contend, the Delphic Tripod was merely a flat, circular, three-legged seat of bronze, presumably hollow and very possibly hemispherical underneath the flat surface, and practically in one piece. It is, however, just as likely that it was merely shaped like a tambourine, since Athenæus quotes Semus the Delian as saying of the tripoded wine bowl,—"A brazen tripod, *not* the Pythian one, but that which they now call a bowl" (B. II. 8. 6). And Athenæus himself in the same context speaks of this wine bowl tripod as the tripod of truth because of the truth which people speak when drunk. This tripod, he adds, is considered appropriate to Apollo, because of the truth of his prophetic art. Thus the caldron tripod shown on the statue of Apollo affords no clue to the shape of the Delphic Tripod, since it is more than likely that the former represents the tripoded bowl, the krater-bowl of the Greeks, in which the wine was mixed with water, and from which the cups were filled (Liddell and Scott).

That the Delphic Tripod was practically in one piece, and was so regarded, seems to be borne out by Virgil's allusion to it under the term, *cortina*. "The tripod (L. cortina) moaned " (III. 92-Bohn's edit.). Again he refers to the oracle itself under the same term,—"Neither the oracle (L. cortina) of Phœbe beguiled thee" (VI. 347). Further, it was the custom of the Romans to exhibit their silver, etc., upon three-legged tables corresponding to our sideboards and patterned after the Delphic tripod. Thus Martial in referring to the rich furniture in the house of Amœnus, says,—"Silver and gold are supported upon a Delphi," meaning a three-legged table (XII. 66).

But if Roux and Barré were in error as to their attempted explanation of the cortina in their illustration, what, after all, is this object, and what are we to understand by the serpent with which it is encircled? It resembles the stone cone which stood in the temple at Delphi similarly wrapped in bands, or in other words netted, and which, as indicating the centre of the world, was regarded as the earth's navel (Strabo IX. 3. 6).

Now Knight appears to think that the omphalic figure seen on ancient coins, that is, the veiled or netted cone, to which he refers as "the cortine of Apollo," represents an egg, presumably the Cosmic egg (fig. 40-a). Indeed, he refers to it as "the veiled cone or egg," asserting of this omphalic figure, that "The conical form also unquestionably means the egg" (Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology, pp. 97, 147, *cf.* 13). It seems to us, however, that what he so positively assumes to be separate forms of one and the same symbol are, in fact, the respective emblems of two separate ideas, the Cosmic egg, and the Omphalic cone of the temple of Delphi. It is true that both are often represented as encircled by a serpent, but this fact does not in the least warrant the assumption that these two similarly encircled objects are but differing forms of one symbolical figure. The Cosmic egg as a separate and distinct symbol of all organic matter in its inert state, was anciently regarded as incubated or vitalized by the serpent, the emblem of energetic life, its generative function being often further represented by its possession of a cock's head and comb. On the other hand, the veiled or netted omphalos of the temple of Delphi being regarded as the navel of the earth, was evidently viewed as the symbol of Artemis, the moon goddess, to whom as such was owing the spread of vegetation over the earth's surface. Here she was intimately associated with Apollo, from whom, as identified with the streaming light and life of the sun, she derived her productive powers (Apollo; Artemis—Ency. Brit.; Knight, *ib.*, pp. 57, 94, 97; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *ib.*, 1. 308; *cf.* 303).

A Pergæan coin (fig. 41), exhibits a veiled or netted omphalos, termed by Ohnefalsch-Richter "the idol of Artemis," from the top of which emerges the head of this goddess. On other coins on the same plate we see further forms of this same Artemis-omphalos with ears of corn and poppies growing out from the base, witnessing to the fertilizing energy of the sun-god (Apollo). One of these omphalic figures encloses the form of the goddess (OR. *i.b.*, p. 169. pl. 85. 5, 10-12). That fig. 41 does exhibit the omphalos of Artemis we know, because Strabo tells us that she had a temple at Perge called the temple of the Pergæan Artemis (XIV. 4. 2).

A coin of Delphi, which bears the name "Delphon," exhibits an omphalos, the top of which divides the name, while the base stands

on a heap of stones. It has no network covering, being plain, but it is encircled by a serpent (Knight p. 104; fig. 40-b). When we recall that Apollo was represented at Delphi by the serpent Python, we can readily see that here we have the omphalos of Artemis encircled by the symbol of Apollos. When, therefore, we further add this figure to what we have already said, we can at once see that in the cortina encircled by a serpent shown by Roux and Barré we have the omphalos of Artemis and the Pythian Apollo. That a serpent encircling an egg sometimes appears on coins in conjunction with the figure of Apollo, who is further represented as sitting on a great number of eggs with a serpent coiled round them, or again with a cone shaped pile of eggs by the side of his statue, affords no ground for seeing in the omphalos of Apollo or Artemis an egg and not a definite omphalos. We have here but a further illustration of Apollo apprehended as the vitalizer of the Cosmic egg as also of Artemis in her character of fertility. It is further possible that in the case of a single egg associated with Apollos there may be the thought of the solar as well as the Cosmic egg, Apollo being identified with the sun. Finally, in the omphalos on the Cyprian scarab (fig. 42), we are not to see the cone of the Paphian goddess, but of Artemis.

Ashtoreth the Cow and Sheep Goddess.

I was led into the foregoing discussion from considering the Carthage votive plaque exhibiting the cow head of the goddess Tanith. We shall now consider the cow head of the goddess Ashtoreth discovered by Bliss and Macalister in Palestine (fig. 43), and with it two other associated figures, 44 and 45, the last discovered by Macalister in the sanctuary of the high place of Gezer. The first two figures are copied from Bliss and Macalister's already mentioned work (pp. 136, 137; pls. 67, 68) the last is taken from the Biblical World containing Prof. Paton's article. The second figure (44) with plaques, figs. 3 and 4, belong to a pre-Israelite period, as also does the cow's head. Compare the triangle on these three figures with that on figures 3-11 and on the many other figures given, and we at once see that we are dealing with the same triangle in all of them, viz., the female triangular pudendum.

Up to 1894 Prof. Barton held the view that the name "Ashtoreth -Karnaim" signified that Ashtoreth was worshipped in the form of a cow. He then changed this view for that of Prof. Moore, which makes this phrase signify "the Ashtoreth of the two-peaked mountain," assuming that the city of Karnaim was situated between two hills (Barton—Semitic Origins, p. 238). Recent discovery shows that Prof. Barton's original opinion was correct, since two images have been found in Palestine depicting a female divinity possessing ram-like horns protruding from the head (Biblical World, p. 30). Here undoubtedly we possess statuettes of the original Ashtoreth-Karnaim or the two-horned Ashtoreth (Gen. 14. 5). We have only to look at fig. 45 to see that here we have a sheep and not a cow-goddess, and we can now understand why three times in the OT the expression occurs—Ashtoreth of the sheep, or flock—which is inaccurately rendered—the young of thy flock or—the flocks of thy sheep (Deu. 7. 13; 28. 4, 13). I say inaccurately, because the word rendered—young, RV; flocks, AV; produce, Var. ed,—is the plural of the name goddess Ashtoreth, used here as a euphemism for offspring, so that the sentence literally reads—Ashtoreth of the flock, a phrase which goes back to the time when the goddess Astarte, the older Ashtoreth, was a Canaanite sheep-goddess. The sentence is an idiom, the original sense of which is entirely lost when not translated literally (Barton—SO, pp. 105, 282; W. R. Smith—LRS. pp. 310, 477). But Astarte was also a cow goddess (Barton—*ib.*, p. 201; Smith—*ib.*, 310, 355), a fact further confirmed by the discovery of the cow's head with the sign of the mother-goddess between the horns above the eyes fig. 43.

From what has now been said, it will be seen that the Biblical expression, Ashteroth-karnaim, definitely means, the two-horned sheep or cow-goddess Ashteroth, being equally applicable to either animal. The name further implies that here was a famous sanctuary of Astarte (Bennett—Genesis, p. 190), which settles the question as to the right rendering and significance of the word translated Beeshterah in the AV, Jos. 21. 27; and Be-eshterah in the RV, the Variorum edition correctly giving (Var. Rend)—"Be-Eshtera," *i. e.*, House of Ashtoreth. Thus is confirmed the hint in I Mac. V. 43, that here was an ancient shrine of Astarte, the two-horned Ashteroth of Gen. 14. 5. *cf.* Ashtaroth.—HDB. 1909.

The Planting of the Asherah.

The main difficulty in solving what Mr. Macalister unfortunately called a profitless discussion, *i. e.*, as touching the form and significance of the Hebrew-Canaanite Asherah, appears to have centred in the correct rendering of Deu. 16. 21. The AV gives "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of thy God." This rendering implies that the planting here alluded to refers to the planting of a grove of trees such as the groves of Gryneum, Pyraea, Mysaeum (Paus. 1. 21; 11. 11; VII. 27), Tænarum and Daphne (Strabo. VIII. 5; XVI. II), in all of which stood temples to gods and goddesses, and where frequent festivals took place whose special feature was a gross sex-encounter, a custom of world-wide practice imitated by the Israelites, and still continued in many places (I K. 14. 23; Isa. 57. 5; Jer. 2. 20; Higgins—Heb. Idol: and Super, pp. 19, 25). Knowing nothing about the existence of the goddess Asherah and her symbol, they fell into the mistake of the Septuagint version which gives—Thou shalt not plant for thyself a sacred grove; thou shalt not grow for thyself any tree by the side of the altar of thy God," and rendered the Hebrew,—"Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God." The Revisers of 1881 seeing in the Asherah nothing more than a tree-post or pole which they thought might possibly represent a goddess of that name, rendered it—"Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of Jehovah thy God." They were evidently led to give this rendering under the impression that the Hebrew word used here for "plant" means merely the planting of a tree or vine, which is the sole explanation given in Gesenius edited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs. In the older Gesenius, however, edited by Robinson, and also in Bagster's Hebrew-English Lexicon, this word (נטע) is further rendered as signifying, "to set up an image," with a reference to Deu. 16. 21. That this rendering and application of the word in question is justified, the whole history of the Asherah post evidences. The prohibition in Deu. 16. 21 and 22 is the same. It refers to the setting up of two symbols, a stone pillar and a wooden post, and has no reference whatever to the planting of a tree of any kind. Prof. Moore thinks that verse 21, should be rendered—

"Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah—*any* wooden object" (Judges, p. 193; Asherah, Ency. Bib.). But this is not correct, since the passage has reference to a *definite* wooden object, viz., the symbol of the goddess Asherah. The Variorum Teacher's Bible renders it—"An Asherah of any wood whatsoever." This is better, since the literal rendering is—"Thou shalt not set up to thee Asherah—any wood" (or any tree), meaning, made from the wood of any tree, since the Israelites viewed several trees as specially sacred. The prohibition as implied by the RV, is not against the planting of any kind of tree as an Asherah, but against the using of the wood of any tree for the construction of the aforesaid Asherah symbol. Prof. W. R. Smith rendered this passage—"Thou shalt not plant to thee an ashera of any kind of wood (or, an ashera, any kind of tree) beside the altar of Jehovah" (LRS, p. 187). From this he reasoned that the Asherah "must therefore have been either a living tree or a tree-like post, and in all probability either form was originally admissible." He drew this conclusion from the fact already alluded to, viz., that the oldest altars of patriarchal sanctuaries stood under actual trees, but he added that,—"this rule could not always be followed, and in the period of the Kings it would seem that the place of the living tree was taken by a dead post or pole planted in the ground like an English Maypole" (p. 188). But why could it not always be followed, seeing there was no lack of trees through the whole period of Israel's history to the exile, under which the inhabitants reared their altars with their usual accompanying Asherah pole and Baal pillar (Isa. 57. 5; Jer. 17. 2; I. K. 14. 23; II. J. 17. 10). Thus it is that Isaiah refers to the trees and the gardens used by the Israelites for their licentious worship (I. 29. *cf.* 65. 3; 66. 17). I may add that Prof. Moore refused to see in Deu. 16. 21, any reference to a tree or a post representing a tree, first, on the ground that the Hebrew sacred tree had a specific name which would have been attached to its representative had there been one, and second, that it is impossible to conceive of an artificial tree being set up under a real one (Asherah, Ency. Bib. Judges, p. 191). Prof. Kennedy also rejects the opinion that the Asherah was a sacred pole, the substitute of the sacred tree (Asherah—Hastings New DB).

One of the eight stones discovered at Gezer by Macalister stands in a hollow stone socket (Bible Side-Lights, p. 62). In II K. 17. 10, we read,—"And they set them up pillars and Asherim upon every high hill." It will be noticed that the word "set up" is used only once to apply equally to the pillars and the Asherim. This presents no difficulty when we bear in mind the stone socket just referred to, adding it to the following illustration. Fig. 46, shows (a) the sun's symbol crowning a wooden staff stuck into the ground, and (b) a symbol of the moon similarly supported. Both symbols (a-b) are taken from a Babylonian seal in the British Museum (Oxford Cyclopedic Concordance, pl. c.). It is true that here the female emblem is represented by the half moon, but we have already seen it with its natural triangular form in company with the male sun-pillar (fig. 23). Now while the evidence which we have already produced in the course of this article fully shows that in this latter figure the triangle corresponds to the half moon in the former, we see this perhaps more clearly illustrated in fig. 47, which exhibits two separate holy stones on their own respective altars, and which are capped by their own separate symbols, the sun wheel and the moon crescent. This last seal Ohnefalsch-Richter informs us is a late Babylonian cylinder (1,149), nevertheless, it substantially proves that in the earlier seals the two objects so frequently represented in juxtaposition on the same altar, the gate-like structure and the triangle-capped staff are symbols respectively of the sun and moon in their phallic significance of male and female.

In a letter written by Prof. Hommel to Dr. Clay Trumbull, and published as part of a supplement to the second edition of the latter's work, "The Threshold Covenant" p. (333), the former gives a drawing of the Babylonian sign of life (fig. 48 a), which he further compares to the Babylonian ideogram for the vulva (*ib.* b), which is the second of the two Babylonian ideograms which I have given on p. 2. There both drawings represent the same sign, the apparent difference being due solely to the fact that, like the Chinese, the Babylonians wrote sometimes in perpendicular, sometimes in horizontal columns. When in the former the vulva sign appeared as our second drawing, when in the latter as the first. In a recent letter to me Prof. Barton gives a drawing of the Babylonian symbol of the goddess Ishtar (fig. 49), adding "The earliest symbol of Ishtar

on the Babylonian seals is (then comes his drawing), the female delta and the star connected by a line." On a Babylonian seal reproduced by Ohnefalsch-Richter (pl. XXX, 15; *cf.* fig. 50), we see two symbols exactly similar to the one reproduced by Prof. Barton, the sole difference being that his occupies the reverse position, that is to say, they have the star uppermost while he has it below. In a previous unpublished article I had compared the Babylonian sign of life given by Prof. Hommel with the star-crowned staff on the Babylonian seal depicting the sun-god Samas issuing from between the folded pillar-gates (fig. 24), seeing in both practically the same symbol, since I assumed that the triangle crowning Hommel's sign of life was the female pudendum corresponding to the V-like opening at its base. It will be recalled that here in this present article I have already claimed that the V-like opening at the base of this star-crowned staff, which corresponds to the V-like opening at the base of Hommel's sign of life, is the natural triangle out of which the star-crowned staff emerges like Samas from between his pillar-gates. That in fact, we have in this star-crowned and V-based staff an idea which is more pictorially represented in the main illustration. In other words, we have the birth of Ishtar in the simpler sign with the birth of Shamas in the fuller picture. Prof. Barton in his last letter to me appears to confirm all this, since he accepts the triangle on the top of a staff which carries the star at the bottom as representing the female delta, and the whole staff as the earliest sign of Ishtar. But all this is further in keeping with the entire contention of this article, viz., that the triangle was the well-known sign of the Semitic mother-goddess, since in what Barton recognizes as the symbol of Ishtar we not only have her star, but also her triangular pudendum. In my previous reference to Ishtar's star-crowned staff on the Babylonian seal reproduced by Maspero, I expressed a doubt as to whether it had any ornamentation on the lower end. It would seem, however, that while in this reproduction such ornamentation is so slight as to be practically none, as I previously inferred, nevertheless, slight as it is, by comparing it with three figures on the same cylinder it after all signifies a definite character. Of these three figures (fig. 51 a, b, c, each represents a triangle-crowned staff the end of which is divided into two pieces running right and left like the two sides

of a triangle or an inverted V. In a previous letter to me Prof. Barton had drawn the Babylonian sign of life (d) exactly as these three figures appear (a, b, c). There is this sole difference then between the sign of life as drawn by Barton and that by Hommel, the former makes the two sides of the triangle or inverted V at the end of his staff run down, after the manner of the three triangular-crowned staffs on fig. 51; while the latter makes them run up like the V shaped figure at the end of the star-capped staff on fig. 24. The important point to settle is—does this difference of position in a figure which on the one hand resembles an ordinary and on the other an inverted V mark any definite difference of conception between either form in the significance intended to be conveyed? We think not, since it would appear from the following evidence that both forms convey the same significance, viz., that of the triangular female pudendum. In a further reproduction by Maspero (*ib.*, p. 656; *cf.*, fig. 52) we see an exactly similar representation to that shown on *our* Babylonian seal (fig. 24). There is, however, a slight but very important difference between the two Ishtar staffs. That in fig. 24, is based merely by the V-shaped figure we have been considering, while that in fig. 52, is based by a V-shaped figure in which is inserted another inverted V-shaped figure at the end of the staff. Now is this last figure merely meant for a straight line to complete the triangle, such as we see at the base of the staff in fig. 50? We do not think it is. On the contrary, it resembles exactly the inverted V-ending of the three Ishtar staffs together with the one which the goddess holds in her own hand on fig. 51. I believe that we have here (fig. 52) the origin of the diamond or rhomboid figure seen so often on Babylonian seals as signifying the female pudendum, or more correctly the vulva. We have here in fact the sides of two triangles placed practically one upon another with sometimes the end of a staff running through them as is shown on fig 53 (a). On this last figure we have another Ishtar staff (b), at the base of which we have a definitely formed triangle in a reversed position, however, to the triangular pudendum. Yet there can be no doubt that it corresponds to the double triangles at the base of the other staff on the same seal and also to the figures at the base of both Barton's and Hommel's respective drawings of the sign of life, including the V-shaped figures at the respective bases of the staffs

on figs. 24 and 52. We have thus proved that the triangle crowning the Babylonian sign of life, although reversed, definitely signifies the female delta, while the V-shaped figure at its base, in its ordinary or reversed form, is merely a repetition, as I stated in my aforesaid unpublished MS., of the upper triangle. As for the difference in the form of staff (a) from that of staff (b) on fig. 53, I believe that on staff (b) the artist has here repeated the form of one of the sun-pillars to signify that like Samas, Ishtar herself had come through a gate-like opening. Our supposition seems to be warranted when we compare the horizontal lines on Ishtar's staff as shown on fig. 24, with the central pillar-gate on fig. 25, where we have the beginning of one pillar-gate as indicating the complete double pillar-gate.[1] Nor must we neglect to call attention to what evidently is intended to signify the moon crescent which crowns the staff of Ishtar on fig. 52, her star being a little below it on the same staff. We see here an absolute illustration of the transition which took place between Ishtar as goddess of the morning and evening star, and as the Moon-goddess, the queen of heaven, when Sin the Moon-god and father of Samas the sun-god lost his position of chief of the gods, Samas taking his place as chief, while the attributes of the moon-god were transferred to Ishtar (Sayce—Rel. Anct. Bab., p. 165; Jastrow—Bab-Assyr. Relig., p. 79).

We commenced this article by rejecting Prof. Paton's opinion that the conical capped stone, the second of the eight standing stones of the Gezer high-place was a female symbol, the breast of the mother-goddess, seeing in it rather the ancient symbol of the male phallus. It would appear, however, that amongst the Cypriote-Phœnicians, and evidently amongst the Canaanite-Hebrews, a practically similar stone monument was used to signify both the male phallus and the female triangle. That such a combination was usual we see by fig. 54, which is reproduced from a Hittite cylinder. In a recently discovered obelisk (fig. 55), we have a stone pillar once in actual use which evidently portrays the combined male and female phallic emblems, the female triangular pudendum and the male phallic shaft. An inscription on its base informs us

[1]The Egyptians believed that the moon came through the same gate as the sun (Maspero, *ib.*, p. 93). Here is the same thought.

that it was dedicated to Esmun-Adonis, or practically to his prototype Tamuz, the sun-god. This obelisk, found in Cyprus in 1880, and which has been inaccurately identified by Stade, Perrot, McCurdy, and others, with the masseba of the OT which accompanied the Asherah (Pillar—HDB, p. 881), throws great light on the problem of the triangle-capped Asherah pole. It was not of course a definite example of the particular pole, but it shows that a post of such a form was a well-known monument with the Canaanite-Hebrews.

Now Ohnefalsch-Richter, while supplying the evidence, yet failed to see in this obelisk the significance it undoubtedly possesses. In the sketch he gives us of his temporarily rebuilt Astarte-Aphrodite sanctuary he describes the reconstructed cone symbol of this goddess as resembling the Esmun-Adonis obelisk (I, 262). He evidently took his drawing from the cone of the Cyprian coin, fig. 56, with which it better compares than with this obelisk, which is an exactly similar structure to the centre chamman stone of the Sardinian grave monument, fig. 57, with which he also compares it (I, 173).

But while he notes the presence of the sun and moon emblems on this chamman-stone he failed to note their bearing on the Esmun-Adonis stone. Here they do not appear as engraved, but as both stones represent the same idea, these symbols shown in relief on the one actually belong to both, and their place on the one from which they are absent is taken by the outline form of its shaft and its crowned triangle. We have here in fact a further example of the female crowning the male emblem which we saw in fig. 53-b, where Ishtar's star surmounts or crowns a single sun pillar. Indeed the representation of a goddess dwelling in a chamman-stone was quite common in Cyprus, so that there is no difficulty in seeing in this Esmun-Adonis obelisk a shaft representing the male phallus, and the triangular head-piece of the female pudendum. This interesting discovery is fully confirmed by the capital of the Hathor sun-pillar, (fig. 58), found in the sacred precinct of the Idalian Aphrodite. Here, says Ohnefalsch-Richter, we see "the head of Hathor on a semi-circle" (I, 189, 190), which we know to indicate the sun, since Hathor is the personification of that portion of the sky where Horus was born, *i. e.*, the place of sunrise. Two other Hathor capitals were discovered which show the head of this goddess carry-

ing a little temple, in the doorway of which stands a little divinity (fig. 59), "the significance of which," says the discoverer, "cannot be precisely determined" (OR. I. 137, 477). This divinity, however, is simply a reproduction of the goddess herself, proved by the cow's head, the symbol of Hathor, plainly seen on the little image. A terra-cotta cone, evidently a censer (fig. 60), shows Astarte-Aphrodite sitting in a niche. This temple vessel was found in the same locality where the Esmun-Adonis obelisk was discovered. In all these examples we have the same thought of a divinity dwelling within the outward representation.

It will be remembered that I identified the triangular head-piece or crown on the nude Ishtar (fig. 20), with the female pudendum reversed. Hathor's doorway head-piece (*cf.* fig. 62) confirms this conclusion, which is evidently made certain by the triangle enclosing the sun, moon, and a pendant lotus bud, on the capitals of other sun-pillars or chamman-stones (fig. 61). Finally, all this evidence proves that the Esmun-Adonis obelisk is not an example of either the male or female masseba of the OT, but while illustrating both it is in itself a representation of a combined god and goddess.

And here I may state that Baal was never worshipped apart from the thought of his female partner. Baal was a nature deity representing merely the male principle, consequently, associated with him was his necessary consort, Asherah, Ashtoreth, or Astarte representing the female principle. When the Israelites entered Canaan they at once took over the pillar, the asherah, and the altar of the Canaanite high places, since they forsook Yahweh and served the Baals and the Asherahs (Jud. 2. II, 13. 37), which they continued uninterruptedly to serve down to the exile, notwithstanding the fierce opposition of the prophets (Jer. 17. 2. *cf.* Ex. 34. 13). The Baals were represented by stone pillars, the Asherahs by wooden posts capped with a triangle. Prof. Moore, following Prof. W. R. Smith, in the opinion that the Asherah was not a female emblem but rather a general symbol of deity, says, "It does not appear from the OT that the Asherah belonged exclusively to any one deity. The Asherah at Ophra was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahweh" (Jud. 6. 25; Deu. 16. 21—Asherah, Ency. Bib.). We have shown, however, that contrary to his further rejection of the view that Asherah was

a goddess, she had indeed an actual existence as such. Thus the Asherah which Gideon cut down was the symbol not of Baal, but of his female partner, the goddess Asherah. The prohibitions of the law, consequently, were against the erecting of a female partner by the side of an altar to Yahweh, and not against the erecting of an Asherah as his symbol. Thus Sayce is correct in referring to Gideon's Asherah as an emblem which "symbolized the goddess Asherah" (The Early History of the Hebrews, p. 307). That there is no mention here of any pillar of Baal destroyed with the Asherah, does not affect the question in the least. As we have said, pillars as well as Asherahs were an indispensable part of Canaanite altar worship (Pillar—Kennedy, HDB.). But further, there is no mention of a pillar in the apostasy of Ahab when he erected an altar of Baal and an Asherah (I K. 16. 32, 33), nevertheless, Jehoram his son is recorded as having put away the pillar of Baal which his father had made (II K. 3. 2). This shows that at Ahab's Baal-altar, as well as an Asherah there stood also a pillar. Thus in the case of Gideon, while the Asherah and the altar are alone mentioned, a pillar must have accompanied them. In OT records it is noticeable that very often details are not mentioned which are supposed to be assumed. The destruction of Baal's altar included his pillar, the Asherah evidently being specially mentioned because it formed the means of offering the burnt sacrifice to Yahweh.

The Double Asherah Pillars or Posts.

In II K. 10. 26, we read,—"And they brought forth the pillars that were in the house of Baal and burnt them" (RV).

Now Prof. Lumby sees here Baal pillars (Cam. Bib.), but for the following reasons we think that he is mistaken, and agree with Ohnefalsch-Richter and Mr. Cowper that these were Asherah posts or pillars indicative of the doorway of human life (I, 190; *ib.*, p. 179).

Lucian informs us that the twin pillars in the temple of Hierapolis bore the inscription that "these phalli were set up by Dionysus to his mother Hera." Prof. W. R. Smith in rejecting the phallic origin of stone pillars, dual or single, assumes that the inscription in question merely represented a mistaken idea of the Greeks as to the significance of these pillars (RS, p. 457). But the Greeks were right,

since dual pillars formed an ancient well known phallic symbol emblematic of deity either male or female. Ohnefalsch-Richter, while correct in stating that the dual pillars of the sun-god Samas, which were the prototype of the dual pillar cult, were often dedicated to, while representing the gate of, the sun, neglected to explain their phallic origin. As emblematic of the gateway through which the sun was daily born they might appropriately represent a male deity, they would even more appropriately represent a female deity, being, as I have shown, indicative of the vulva, the physical doorway of human life. Trumbull informs us that in an Assyrian city the gates were named after its gods and goddesses, *e. g.*, the gate of Bel, Beltis, Ishtar, etc., *ib.*, p. 95). Here we see a corroboration of our statement that the Ishtar staff of fig. 53, which we have marked b, represents the gate through which Ishtar herself had been born. It is in fact a reflection of the gateway of Samas. Because, however, a god was often represented by either a plain stone pillar *or* a cone, and *both* gods and goddesses equally by two or more stone pillars, Prof.W. R. Smith rejected the whole phallic theory of pillar and cones representing deity. His mistake arose owing to the lack of the very evidence which it is one of the main objects of this paper to afford, viz., that dealing with the origin of dual pillars and cones as under special circumstances representing either male or female deity (*ib.*, p. 208). Take for example the very cases upon which his rejection was based, the twin pillars of Hercules at Tyre (to which we add those at Gades), and the twin pillars which stood at Paphos, Hierapolis and at Solomon's temple; together with the cones of Elagabalus and Zeus Casius. The pillars of Hercules at Tyre and Gades owed their existence to the same thought that saw in the mountain peaks of Calpe and Abyla at the respective sides of the *Herculis fretum* which connected the Atlantic and Mediterranean (Oceanus et Magnum Mare) seas, the *Columnæ Herculis*. But behind these are their prototypes, the pillars of Samas, the Babylonian sun-god, through which he made his passage every morning. Nor must it be forgotten that Hercules was both a sun-god and the patron of maritime adventure. Thus these pillars and the later examples could be viewed either as emblematic of the male deity who had passed through them or of the female deity to whom, as we have shown, the idea of the gateway belonged in the first instance. The pillars of Paphos were

cones and all sacred cones were emblems of the same gateway, the triangular *pudendum muliebria*, so that they also bore the double relation similar to that of the pillar gateway.

Now Prof. Davies while seeing in the two pillars of Solomon's temple, Jachin and Boaz, nothing more than ornaments to the Israelites, yet finds their origin in the twin pillars which stood in a like position before the temple at Tyre, Hierapolis, and Paphos. In these cases, he adds, the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world. "In attempting to answer the question—why two pillars often represented but one deity?—he assumed that as amongst the Semites and other primitive peoples, gods went in pairs, male and female. Possibly the two pillars stood for male, and female, the active and passive principles in nature" (Boaz—HDB). Sayce, in explaining the twin columns which stood before the door of a Phœnician temple, says, "they symbolized the fertilizing power of the sun-god" (Early History of the Hebrews, p. 468). This last writer is the more correct, since dual *entrance* columns never signified more than one deity, either male or female. In fig. 63, we have a Carthaginian stela which was evidently dedicated both to Tanith and her associated Lord, Baal-Hamman, since we have here not only the dual entrance pillars of a temple representing this sun-god, but the triangle symbols of his spouse, Tanith, one on either side. How far astray eminent scholars could get when lacking the evidence we are here supplying is seen in Prof. W. R. Smith's statement that these triangles may probably be symbols of "the god or goddess indifferently" (*ib.*, p. 478). They are, as we have seen, definite symbols of the goddess Tanith herself; while in the present instance the pillars are definite symbols of her male partner. In fig. 64, we have a representation of the twin pillars of Heracles-Melcarth at Tyre, which are here merely double images of one deity. As to the significance of the tree, I shall refer to that under another heading.

Finally, in fig. 65, we have a small votive chapel or shrine of the dove-goddess, Astarte-Aphrodite, from Idalion. Within the entrance, between the columns, one on either side, stands an image of the goddess showing her association with the dove in her human dove-like form. We are at once put in mind of the "image of

jealousy or indignation," which Ezekiel saw standing near the entrance of the altar gate of the temple (8. 3. 5). In figs. 70, 71, we give representations of what we believe, when compared with fig. 5, and the explanation on p. 289, to have been Macah's image of "horror," a grosser form of Manasseh's Asherah image (2 K. 21. 7). However, I shall refer again to this under its own heading, since, in the present instance, it is with the pillars of this sanctuary we are concerned. They are straight shafts with palm capitals and correspond to the pillars of Solomon's temple. Here they are an example of twin pillars dedicated to a goddess.

The Fourth Form of the Asherah.

In the recently published volumes of the Book of Chronicles, by Prof. E. L. Curtiss, the author accepts the "horror" or "abominable thing" of I K. XV. 13; 2 Chron. 15. 16, as signifying a priapic or ithyphallic figure. In other words, a phallic manikin. At least, in quoting Jerome's translation—Simlacrum Priapi, he says, "This interpretation, as good as any, is usually accepted." We do not accept this explanation, however, notwithstanding the most recently published Bible Dictionary (Hastings's) agrees with Smith's in saying that "The idol or 'horror' which she had made for Asherah is supposed to have been the emblem of Priapus, and was so understood by the Vulgate" (Maachah); while it further says, "a fright or horror, applied to the idol of Maachah, probably of wood, which Asa cut down and burned, and which was unquestionably the Phallus, the symbol of the productive power of nature" (Idol).

Referring to the Asherah, Ohnefalsch-Richter says, "Notwithstanding all the paper that has been blackened, the views of the learned on this subject seem to be as divergent as ever" (Text, p. 141). This is perfectly true, yet, at the same time, we cannot help thinking that no such diversity; no such uncertainty touching the solution of this problem, should have existed, as apart from the ascertained fact of the existence of the goddess Asherah, as proved by the inscriptions quoted by Kennedy, and Hommel (Barton—SO, p. 247), the fact itself that the Bible refers to Asherah as having prophets (I K. 13. 19), vessels used in her service (II K. 23. 4), and carved images representing her (I K. 15 13; K. 21. 7 II; II Chron. 33. 7), sufficiently proves her existence. There is even further

evidence which, however, has hitherto not only been completely overlooked, *i. e.*, by most scholars, but where noted it was only so done to reject it. Kuenen had referred to the existence amongst the Israelites of the Kedesha, or the sacred female prostitutes dedicated to the worship of the goddess Asherah. But Collins views this as an entirely unwarranted assumption, arguing that for the service of the "Ashera . . . there were Kedeshim, eunuchs or male prostitutes" (Pro. Scy. Bib. Archæ., p. 303). Jacobs, however, has fully proved that these Sodomites (I K. XV. 24; XXII. 46; II K. XXIII. 7), were the sons of "the Kedishoth or sacred prostitutes attached to the temple before the exile" (Studies in Bib. Archæ., p. 114), and that such people actually existed in Israel is abundantly proved by Gen. 38. 21, and Jos. 4. 14 (RV).

We return to consider this idol 'horror,' which we are told was undoubtedly a priapic image, or phallus. Indeed, Knight would have us believe that it was a sort of Hermaic statuette similar to those of Egypt, and at the temple of the Syrian goddess, and the Venus-Erycina (Sym. Lang. Anct. Art and Myth., pp. 49, 114-189 Asa). This means that the usual asherah symbol of the goddess Astarte, whatever it may have been before, was now altered by queen Maacah to represent not the female, but the male partner of this goddess. It is true that the women of Israel were accustomed to make anthropomorphic male images (Eze. 16. 17), but in the case we are considering, it is not a male image, but an image of the goddess Asherah herself, which is referred to by the Hebrew writer. This is proved by a similar image having been made by King Manasseh which he placed within the temple of Jehovah itself, but which was brought out by order of the reforming King, Josiah, and burned. He brought out *the* Asherah, we are told, not a symbol of something made to go *with* the goddess Asherah, but the Asherah itself, for which certain women wove hangings like the shawl that the women wove for Hera (Pausanias V. 16), and the clothing with which the Israelite women covered their male images (Eze. 16. 18; *cf.* Paus. III. 16). It is thus that Prof. Kennedy, referring to the form of the Asherah in this instance, says, "Something of greater consequence than a mere post or pole. It must have been a celebrated image of the *goddess.*" The sole problem we are, therefore, left to determine

is as to the form of this particular image which is described as "a horror."

Ohnefalsch-Richter is undoubtedly correct in seeing in this "horror," not a male symbol, but a symbol of the female pudendum (Text, p. 146). He went no further, however, than to imply that it was the pudendum of the conical capped or engraved wooden Asherah post. Maspero, commenting upon a similar figure of the nude Ishtar, which I have produced in fig. 5, says,—"Solomon Reinach has demonstrated that the naked figure is not the goddess herself, but a statue of the goddess which was adored in one of the temples" (The Dawn of Civilization, p. 695, note). If, consequently, we consider the gross exhibition of the pudendum on figs. 1 to 11, in its bearing on the "horror" of the Bible, we at once see that here we have to do with a similarly carved anthropomorphic image of the goddess Asherah. In fig. 66, we have a drawing of a terra-cotta female idol found by Ohnefalsch-Richter in a grove of Astarte-Aphrodite in Cyprus, and which he describes as "very archaic" (Text, p. 267). He compares this with fig. 7, the original of which he dug up near Chytris, and which he says, "is the most archaic figure wearing the nose ring hitherto found, and can only represent the Paphian goddess." Now I believe that in figs. 66, 67, and especially 70 and 71, we have images of Astarte-Aphrodite which portray the more or less actual features of Maacah's anthropomorphic image of Asherah, that is of course assuming that it was a complete human image. I shall deal with figs. 70, 71 first, since we shall have more to say about the two former figures. In figs. 70, 71, we have a Chaldean conception of the goddess of love and fertility. It is Ishtar, and here we see her nude charms such as those which Ukhat exposed to Eabani for a similar purpose (Jastrow—Bab-Assye. Relig., p. 475) represented with terrible grossness, so that we can understand that Israel's prophets would view such a figure as a veritable horror (Perrot and Chipiez's "Art in Chaldea and Assyria, Vol. I. p. 83; 2, p. 92). The two figures 66, 67, are of a somewhat later period and consequently depicted with greater skill. It is with the breast pendant on figs. 66, 67, and 71 that we are now mostly concerned. I would recall, however, touching the entire nudity of these figures that Maspero quotes Reinach as

having shown that the statue of the nude Ishtar was adored in one of the temples. But if in Babylonia why not in Palestine? Thus it is certain that Maacah's "horror," made as an Asherah, was one of these gross representations of the nude goddess.

And now for figs. 66, 67. When the bust pendant on the former is compared with that on the latter, which we take from McCurdy's article, "Semitic Religion," in "A Standard Bible Dictionary," it will at once be recognized as the symbol of the sun's disc, especially if we compare both pendants with the Egyptian winged sun-discs, figs. 68, 69. Now these pendants, worn as we see them, within the hollow of the bosom, at once explain the admonition given prophetically to the daughters of Israel by Hosea to put away from between their breasts their adulteries. Further, the nose rings on figs. 7, 68, 69, are specially emphasized by Hosea under the expression of whoredoms to be put off from the face, as the sun discs, symbols of adulteries, were to be put away from between the breasts. Israel's daughters decked themselves with the special insignia of the goddess of free love when going after their paramours (Hos. 2. 2, 13). Of these ornaments the necklace with its bust pendant was the chief. The modern custom of Cypriote maidens of wearing a triangle as a love charm to win them husbands, the triangle being suspended by a necklace and worn on the bust in the same position as the disc on the statue of Astarte-Aphrodite, and evidently similarly worn by the women of Israel, is referred to in Canticles, where a lover says to his mistress,—"Thou hast ravished my heart . . . with one chain of thy neck" (4. 9). Now from parallel instances we may well assume that this necklace possessed a pendant somewhat similar to the pendant on the statuettes and figurines of our Astarte-Aphrodite, and which we have shown to be the sun disc, the symbol of the sun-god, Adonis, the child and mate of Astarte-Aphrodite, who wore his symbol while he wore hers, the triangle (fig. 14). It is thus that we hear of the Israelites worshipping the sun-image or obelisk in conjunction with the asherah post (Isa. 17. 8), the former in later times having taken the place of the plainer stone pillar of Baal, whom, nevertheless, it equally represented as a Baal of the sun.

In assuming that the pillars of II K. 10. 26, were dual pillars as distinguished from the single Baal pillar of verse 27, we see in them the Asherah made by Ahab, which, consequently, corresponded to

Mr. Cowper's Senams (*ib.*, p. 179). Manassah's Asherah we may, as previously contended for reasons given (AJRP—March, 1906), confidently assume was made after a complete anthropomorphic pattern. It is most likely that Maacah's "abominable image" which she made for, that is, in place of the usual Asherah, was a similar image more grossly made. It may, however, have had a condensed form of what the full image itself was equally meant to represent. That in fact, it was a similar exhibition to the huge conventional symbol of the vulva seen on the old Cappadocian rock-reliefs of Boghaz-Kieui belonging to the 8th cent. (OR, I. pp. 147, 170; pls. 69, 81; fig. 72). Westropp, in his "Primitive Symbolism" (p. 30), records that in Rome, in the month of April, an image of the phallus was carried in a cart led in procession by the women devotees to the temple of Venus outside the Collin gate, and presented by them to a conventionalized although very life-like image of the sexual parts of the goddess. I have in my possession the photograph of a signet ring, discovered amongst other Roman remains, which depicts this very festival (fig. 73). I show here merely the kteis or yoni. Strabo informs us that at Rome there was a temple of Venus Erycina, just before the Collin gate, and he implies that here the same prostitution was practised in the name of this goddess as at Eryx in Sicily (VI. 2. 6). It is evident, therefore, that in this Roman temple there was such an image of the vulva as is shown in our figures from the rock reliefs mentioned and from this signet ring. I may add that the centre object in our figure from these reliefs has been identified with the phallus, and undoubtedly corresponds with the phallus on the signet ring.

In Canticles V. 4, the maiden describes her lover as coming at night while she slept and putting his hand into "the hole of the door," whereupon she awoke, but only to find her lover gone. Now the expression "hole in the door" is a euphemism, which, while in the present instance it has a surface meaning, the hole in the house door through which the hand was thrust to slide back the inside bolt which kept the door fastened, nevertheless, it includes the underlying significance of this euphemistic expression which has reference to the sexual parts of the lover's mistress. In the preceding chapter under similar euphemistic language, the lover had described his mistress as "a garden shut . . a fountain sealed," for the open-

ing of which for amatory indulgence he yearns. His mistress prepares to give way, but in rising to gratify her lover, finds that he has left her (vers. 12, 16). In chap. 8. 5, we have another euphemistic reference to the female sexual parts in the statement of the assumed brothers concerning their "little sister." "If she be a door we will enclose her with boards of cedar," meaning, if she be an unlocked or unbolted door, a loose entrance for promiscuous lovers, she shall be sealed up with boards. Comparing this with the previous representation of the maiden as a fountain sealed, we at once see the sexual significance. A passage in the Talmud represents a newly married husband returning his wife to her father with the words,—"I thought I was getting a sealed fountain, but I found an open door."

Now the Hebrew word for female means, "the perforated," that is, one with a hole or opening. We see this thought in the passage already referred to where there is an allusion to these perforations (Isa. 3. 17). That the idolatry practised by the Israelites included veneration of, and worship at, openings regarded as symbols of the vulva we see from Isa. 57. 6. That Semitic phallic worship included equally reverence paid to both the male and female symbols, is shown in figs. 74, 75. The first is an Egyptian seal discovered at Nineveh and depicts the god Harpocrates adoring a life-like symbol of the vulva. The second is a triangular cone of the Paphian goddess through the hole of which it was customary to take oath by persons standing on either side and clasping hands through the opening. We have here a corresponding phallic oath to that taken by the servant of Abraham when placing his hand upon the phallus of his master. In fig. 76, we have an ancient Italian representation of the Indian combined lingam and yoni. The oval opening corresponds to the opening on the triangle of the previous figure. I may add that in the vestibule of an ancient Church at Rome there is a large perforated stone, in the hole of which the Romans are said to have placed their hands when taking a solemn oath (Howard—Sex-Worship, p. 138). The foregoing evidence shows that it is just possible that Maacah's image of "horror," may have taken the form of a symbol of the female sexual part seen in our illustrations. It may, however, have been given the extra emphasis simply because it was the first time that a nude goddess of nature exhibiting

evidently exaggerated female parts had been introduced into the temple at Jerusalem as the nude similarly depicted Ishtar was exhibited in the temples in Babylonia. I incline to this view, seeing in Manassah's Asherah a similar image to that made by Maacah. When the first horror had been expressed, subsequent similar images would be viewed with less excitement. That Manasseh's Asherah was an anthropomorphic figure we further gather from the statement touching the tunics woven for it by woman votaries (2 K. 23. 7), which reminds us of the tunic Pausanias records as worn on the statue of Athene in the Parthenon at Athens, or the shawl woven by the women of Ellis at that place for the statue of Hera which stood there (I. 24; V. 16). Especially do we gather that we are dealing here with an anthropomorphic image because of the incense vessel from the Cyprian Artemis-Asherah sanctuary showing the goddess gowned with a tunic and sitting in a niche on the outside of the censer. We are surely warranted in comparing this vessel to the vessels for incense brought out of the temple of Jehovah and destroyed by Josiah, vessels which belong to Baal and the Asherah (2 K. 23. 4; 2 Chron. 30. 14 RV.). The goddess in the niche of this Cyprian censer is surely a miniature of the larger Asherah which stood within the temple. No wonder that Prof. Kennedy assumes that we are dealing here with an "image of the goddess," and not a mere symbol, such as a pole or post.

Returning to figs. 66, 67, showing the nude Astarte-Aphrodite wearing the sun-disc bust pendant. So far as I am aware no image of Astarte has as yet been discovered in Palestine exhibiting this ornament, but from the evidence produced it would seem that we are warranted in assuming that the nude mother-goddess so adorned was well known to the Israelites. Thus we may see in Manasseh's, and possibly Maacah's, Asherah, an image similarly decorated. Now the above conclusion, if correct, throws unexpected light upon the Cestus band which Homer represents Hera as soliciting from Aphrodite. I have already dealt with this subject in a previous number of this magazine (July,1909—The Magic Girdle of Aphrodite), but with the further investigation which I have here produced, much fuller evidence is furnished for the acceptance of the conclusion there arrived at. I shall, therefore, again refer to Homer's Cestus. Homer represents Hera as asking Aphrodite for her Cestus

in the following words,—"Give me now love and desire with which thou dost overcome all immortals and mortal men (II. XIV. 198). Thus in veiled language is the goddess of love asked for the loan of a specific object which in itself possessed the powers sought by Hera. In plain words, Hera asked for the love amulet which Aphrodite wore suspended round her neck, and to which it would further seem a bust pendant was attached. So requested, Aphrodite "loosed, took, or removed from her bosom the wrought band, subtly or magically designed (214) which she put into the hands of Hera, saying,—"Here now, place in thy bosom this subtly or magically wrought band wherein all things are contained," further hinting that what Hera desired would by this gift be accomplished (219). Taking the amulet, Hera "then put it on within her bosom" (224), finally through its aid accomplishing that for which she had sought it.

Now the drift and completion of this incident, makes it very clear that we are fully warranted in rendering the passages quoted as we have done, since the episode shows that it could not have been a mere embroidered breast-band (strophion), nor yet a loin girdle (zone), which Aphrodite gave to Hera, but, on the contrary, a wrought chain subtly made to possess magical powers. It was, as Leaf concedes (Iliad Vol. II p. 81), a charm, an amulet, which inspired in the beholder amorous relations with the wearer. It therefore could not have been a breast-band, as no such power was ever recorded as belonging to such an article of dress. It was not the waist girdle, as it was taken from off the bosom. It was not an object embroidered and worked in various colors, such as a piece of needlework, but an object wrought by a craftsman in metal, a gold or silversmith, and cunningly made or designed to possess magical power. Neither *kestos*, nor *polukestos*, need necessarily be translated embroidered and richly embroidered, respectively (Iliad 214, *cf.* III. 371), but rather wrought or fashioned, and well-fashioned. This last rendering harmonizes more with the subsequent description of the strap to which it refers. It was a strong piece of leather taken from an ox that had been slaughtered, and not one that had died of disease, thus insuring the perfection or strength of the leather (375). So we have in the previous allusion (371) a description of the strap as well-fashioned or made, owing to which, as drawn tight

under the chin of Paris in order to keep his helmet on, it would not break or come apart as Menelaos was dragging him away by the horse-hair crest of his helmet. Paris, consequently, was being strangled by this strong or tough bullhide strap of his head-piece when Aphrodite came quickly to his rescue and tore it asunder. I may add, that nowhere in Homer is kestos, nor polukestos, used to indicate a sewn or embroidered piece of material. In like manner poikilon, translated to signify beautifully embroidered, may equally mean, cunningly devised to contain all the enchantments of love, especially in this case, as the wrought band or strap in question did actually possess this very power. Mr. Leaf himself concedes that the whole expression (The Companion to the Iliad, p. 248-214), "may be a loose one." We are therefore to explain the words used by the thought evidently in the mind of the writer, and not his thought by the words employed to express it.

Recent Scholarship on Homer's Cestus-Band.

The volume of this magazine in which, as I have said, I had fully discussed the question of Homer's Cestus, so far as I had then examined it, I forwarded to Mr. Purser, of Trinity College, Dublin, author of the article—Cestus—in both Smith's and Harper's Classical Dictionaries, where in both he had concluded that this Cestus was a strophion or breast-band. I here quote part of his reply,—

"I have read your article and letter with much interest and profit. You certainly make out a most powerful case in support of the view that the 'Cestus' was a neck-band; and I now think, owing to your presentation of the whole case, that such is the right view. It was, as you say plainly, a magical amulet. Something in fact like the Roman 'bulla,' which was an amulet enclosed in a case (gold or leather) and hung around the neck." Mr. Purser further accepted my view that the amuletic power of Homer's Cestus-band, and Valarius Flaccus's Monilia, which was worn by Medea as a neck and bust chain, after having been borrowed by Juno from Venus, had been derived from the East as there exhibited in a similar ornament on the figurines and statuettes of the mother-goddess.

In his "Life in the Homeric Age," the late Prof. Seymour assumed, "That the Cestus of Aphrodite contained all love charms is simply part of the mighty influence of the goddess" (p. 516). It

is very evident that he missed the real reason underlying the assumed powers of the Cestus. As a love charm it undoubtedly owed its power to the fact that suspended between the breasts it aided in drawing attention to a finely shaped bosom. The epithet "deep-bosomed" was well known as referring to the shapely fullness of the breasts of a young woman (*Bathukolpos*). So Æschylus refers to "the beautiful deep hollowed bosoms" of two of his female characters (The Seven Against Thebes, p. 130, lines 858, 9—Harper; p. 61, line 3, 4—Bohn). The latter is a translation, however, and incorrectly renders the original—lovely deep-*cinctured* bosoms, which hides the real significance, since it is the hollow within the bosom which the poet here emphasizes, and which would be greatly emphasized by the pendant resting between the breasts.

The bust of Venus is said by an ancient poet to have been the most beautiful part of her nude charms, and it was partly by her lovely bosom that Homer represents Helen as recognizing Aphrodite (III. 397). It was even so with the fair Lais, Athenæus telling us that "painters used to come to her to copy her bosom and her breasts" (XIII. 54). Aristophanes puts these words into the mouth of one of his characters,—"Of a truth, Menelaus, when he had taken a side glance at the breasts of Helen when naked, threw away his sword" (Bohn. Vol. II, p. 396). Anacreon desires a maiden with a young and beautiful bust—"A girl with a *deep*, or hollow, bust, and girls with youthful bosoms" (Od. 42. 5). So Cornelius Gallus says,—"a stiff and firm bosom sets the eyes on fire" (El. 5). When we turn to Scripture we find here also emphasis laid upon the recognized witchery of a young and perfect female bust. Thus Ezekiel in picturing the whoredoms of Israel in associating herself with foreign pagan powers, characterizes it as the handling and pressing of the "fashioned . . . breasts of thy youth" (16. 7; 23. 3, 21). Canticles pictures the breasts of a maiden as "Clusters of the vine;" "towers of a wall," and describes her lover as "a bundle of myrrh that lieth betwixt my breasts" (7. 8; 8. 10; 1. 13). Finally, Proverbs makes Wisdom admonish her son to be satisfied at all times with the breasts of his young wife; to be ravished always with her love; and not to press the bosom of a stranger (5. 19, 20).

I call attention to these statements of Scripture and ancient classical writers in order to show that the necklace with its bust

pendant so frequently exhibited upon the statuettes and figurines of the lascivious mother-goddess, undoubtedly derived its assumed power from the acknowledged fascination of a finely shaped female bust and not from the fact of its being an ornament of a goddess. That this particular necklace had this power is not only proved by such power being credited to an ordinary female necklace, but specially on account of the pendant suspended between the swelling breasts of the goddess. The two points have been already noted, but we shall now return to them, specially emphasizing the latter.

Mr. Purser, in his communication referred to, fully accepted my conclusion that the Cestus of Aphrodite was a necklace, his words being, "on your main contention that the cestus was probably a necklace, I agree; and thank you much for your able discussion of the point." Alluding, however, to my contention that the pendant on figs. 66 and 67, was a symbol of the sun, he wrote,—"Whether it was supposed to represent the sun (as you suggest) or has some other origin, I cannot say . . . Your references to the oriental statues are most interesting." Here, however, Prof. Barton, to whom I had submitted the point with my discussion thereon, replied,—"I am inclined to think that your main contention, that the sun-disc was an emblem of fertility closely associated with the goddess of that function, is right." Now if we compare figs. 68 and 69, which accompany the drawings of the goddess wearing the pendant in question, we can see for ourselves that the pendant she wears between the breasts was undoubtedly the symbol of the sun's disc. Further, that this disc as typifying generative force, was so worn on the breast of this goddess is definitely proved by the breast ornaments worn by the archaic Kyprian Artemis and her priestess. Amongst them is a small human figure, and we are immediately reminded of Ezekiel's statement that the daughter of Israel in playing the harlot had taken their beautiful vessels of gold and silver making of them "images of men" (16. 17). Prof. Toy explains these as "Images of gods in human shape, probably Canaanitish," but he adds, "of the forms of these images we have no details" (SBOT-Ezekiel, p. 126).

In fig. 77, I give a drawing of a statuette of a priestess of Artemis which shows her wearing a human image suspended from a sun-disc which rests between the breasts attached to a neck-band or chain

enlarged in fig. 78. Now Ohnefalsch-Richter at first refers to this neck-band as "an embroidered strap or twisted cord, but he later alludes to it as recalling "the *kestos imas*, embossed strap, of Homer, that magic girdle which Aphrodite loosed from her bosom and gave to Hera" (Text, p. 307). Now notice the strap on the enlarged representation of it, and it is abundantly clear that we are here dealing with an object belonging to the craft of a gold or silversmith, and not to a weaver or worker of embroidery fashioned with a needle. Here, then, undoubtedly we have an ornament somewhat similar to Homer's cestus-band, and thus my rendering of the original passage as—loosed from her bosom the wrought band subtly, or magically, designed—similar to the necklace of Harmonia, was fully warranted.

In Feb., 1910, in a reply to a communication from me, Andrew Lang wrote, "It does not seem possible to know what Homer meant by the 'Cestus.' It may have been a necklace hanging over the breast, or a talisman, or a pendant amulet. As we have no representation of the thing in art (very late Minoan or sub-Minoan), it is impossible to do more than guess, and I never guess. . . . No later author than Homer knew anything on the subject. I was unaware that the triangle (as on Bass's Beer.) was phallic. What will phallicists not call phallic?"

The foregoing investigation, however, shows that it was quite possible to do more than *guess* as to the probable form and character of the amulet which Homer intimates was worn by Aphrodite. It would seem that in fig. 78, we have an exact reduplication of the strap or band which he represents this goddess as removing from her bosom and giving to Hera. I do not believe that we have here a mere twisted cord of fibre or leather, but either a jointed and embossed gold or silver chain corresponding to the material of the ornaments attached to it as pendants, or perhaps more likely a twisted cord of gold or silver wire. Thus is shown my warrant for rendering II. XIV. 14, as the wrought band—the work of a gold or silversmith. That Homer does not directly mention its pendant amulet does not affect the question, since Mr. Purser called my attention to the fact that Juvenal applies the term "Lorum" (a strap or thong like *imas*), to the "bulla" (5.165), just as Homer evidently uses the term *imas* or *imanta* as including its amulet pendant without mentioning this latter. I may add, that while

Ohnefalsch-Richter thinks that this statuette of Artemis belongs probably to the 5th cent. B. C., it exhibits the ornaments worn at a much earlier period, proved by Hosea's undoubted reference to such symbols as worn between the breasts by the Israelitish women of this period (780 B. C.). From all this it would seem that not only are we able to know what Homer himself meant by the Cestus-band but that later Latin writers *did* know something of the subject, as is seen in the description of Homer's Cestus as a necklace given by both Martial and Flaccus (XIV. 106, 107; VI. 465. ff.). It would further seem that we have a description of the Cestus in art which goes back at all events to the sub-Minoan period, as witnessed by the statuettes in question. Finally, we have produced abundant evidence to show that the triangle *was* a phallic symbol, all of which tends to prove that Dr. Lang was wrong in all his statements.

That the women of Israel should have worn the manikin and sun-disc as symbols of Adonis is not strange, since the OT presents abundant evidence that they were devotees of this god. Thus in Isa. 17. 10, in the margin of the English Revised Version we have the alternate rendering—"plantings of Adonis" for the general text,—"pleasant plants." We have here in a euphemistic phrase an undoubted reference to this god (Adonis—HDB; Ency. Bib.; Cam. Bib.), whose ritual included the plantings of quick growing and rapidly fading miniature gardens. The conclusion of this verse,—"and settest it with strange slips," reads literally as in the margin,—"with vine slips of a strange god," and shows that we are here dealing with a ritual practice which belonged to the cult of Adonis as worshipped in Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia. Again, Prof. Sayce tells us that "in Canaan Tammuz was addressed as Adonai 'my lord,' the Greek Adonis "(Tammuz—HDB); while Prof. Koenig in Hastings's One Volume Dictionary informs us that amongst the Phœnicians "this god was worshipped under the title of Adon." Now Prof. Hommel in discussing the question as to the religious belief which obtained in Palestine at the period of the Tel el-Amarna letters (1400 B. C.), concludes from an examination of the personal names appearing in these letters that "Astarte and Baal hold the first place, the latter frequently appearing under his characteristic names, Adon = Lord, and Milk or Melek = King, the former under the name Asherah." Subsequently, from the personal names

in use at the time of Saul and David, he tells us that "by that date the Israelites had proved unfaithful to their ancient traditions, and had allowed themselves to be deeply influenced by the religion of the conquered Canaanites" (The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, p. 224. *cf.* 303). On page 226, however, he represents Israel's religion at the date of the Patriarchal Period as employing the divine name El "to the *exclusion* of other gods." We have seen, however, that Prof. Sayce views the name Adonai as the Canaanite equivalent for Tammuz,or at all events as the title by which Tammuz was addressed. But Abraham addressed Yahweh by the same title after he became aware that it was a divine being to whom he had been talking, and to whom he had at first given what is represented by commentators as a mere title of courtesy (Genesis—Driver). But the term "Adonai," is, as Prof. Bennett tells us, a "divine name" (Theol. of the Old Test., p. 98), and as Prof. Sayce further tells us that in Canaan Tammuz was known by this name, it is very evident that Abraham addressed Yahweh by a name he knew was used by the Canaanites as indicating the Babylonian god Tammuz. We are dealing here with a somewhat analogous case to that of Abraham and Melchizedek, so far as both instances reflect the thought of deity. In the latter narrative Abraham pays tithes to, and is blessed in the name of, a local Canaanite deity, El Elyon, by whom in this incident Abraham swears, since it is not he who indentifies El Elyon with Jahweh, but the narrator or a later glossator (Genesis —Driver; Sayce—The Early History of the Hebrews, p. 31, Dillmann —Genesis, p. 52. Vol. II). By comparing these two narratives, consequently, so far as they reflect the ideas of deity as entertained by Abraham, we see that he could not possibly have viewed Yahweh as the sole or even the most important deity. Thus, if he was ready to swear by a Canaanite deity on one occasion, it is evident that he was not averse to recognize Yahweh as Adonai upon another, which tends to prove that the name by which he addresses Yahweh in Gen. 18. 3—Adonai—was used by him as the name of a Canaanite deity. This conclusion finds warrant in the fact that at this period Yahweh was not viewed by the Patriarchs as a god of Palestine. In other words, the deity worshipped by Abraham in Palestine was a foreign god, and as Abraham had no very clear idea of deity, and was ready, as we have seen, to swear by a Canaanite god, it

is not at all surprising that he should have used the name of a Canaanite god, when addressing a divine being on Canaanite soil. Nor must it be forgotten that Abraham willingly pitched his tent near sacred trees, and there reared an altar for worship (Gen. 12 6; 13. 18).

Now from all this we gather that the so-called lapses from a purer faith, which Hommel sees in Israel's frequent idolatrous outbursts, are actually nothing more than emphasis laid by the prophets upon the opposition of the people against their continuous denunciation of practices natural to Israel as the outcome of their national religion. It was from thoughts engendered by their national religion that the prophets labored to lead the people to higher conceptions of Yahweh. The people as a whole served a Baalized Yahweh. This is the reason why the prophets found such difficulty in getting them to alter their conception of Yahweh, whom they viewed as desiring the same character of worship as Baal, Moloch, and Chemosh. Israel's religion, as we are accustomed to view it, with its high ethical standards and exalted conception of God, is rather the religion of Israel's Prophets, beginning with Elijah. To these Seers alone is due the fact that Israel's religion became ethical and spiritual (Barton—Israel HDB). The popular theology as believed in by the people and their national religious teachers, the priests, the mouthpieces of popular thought and feeling, confused Yahweh with other gods, thus he was worshipped with the symbols and rites of other deities (Bennett—Theol. OT, pp. 9-11; Kent—His. Heb. People, p. 97). I have for many years now held that there were practically two religions of Israel, real Mosaism, a religion very little differentiated, if at all, from the religion of the people by whom Israel was surrounded, and ethical monotheism, a development beginning practically in the 8th cent. and continued through and beyond the exile (Idolatry—Compston, HDB). The true character of Israel's national religion against which the prophets brought such an emphatic and sweeping condemnation, will be shown in the next and concluding section under the heading of "Israel's Tree, Serpent, and Phallic Worship." I would here merely note the fact that the distinguished scholar, Prof. Cheyne, of Oxford, has just published a volume entitled, "The Two Religions of Israel." It is the result, we are informed by the Editor of The Expository Times, March, 1911,

of a series of emended texts. These emendations may or may not stand the test of future criticism, but one thing is certain, viz., that the old degeneration theory which charged the Canaanites with being the cause of the Israelites falling into the sin of idolatry in face of the more critical enquiry of to-day is no longer tenable. The assumed lapses of Israel from a pure to an impure faith are matters of mere imagination on the part of those who would read into the early history of Israel conceptions which were the outcome of the thought of later ages. It is only by thus viewing the evolution of Israel's religious belief that we can understand the true attitude of the people to an idolatry which the prophets denounced. To the former the latter were introducers of new ideas and conceptions utterly at variance with the national idea of Yahweh. This is the reason why the prophets found such difficulty in obtaining a hearing for their divine message. The point, however, which I desire mainly to emphasize by this brief examination into the history of Israel's religion is that in its growth there was ample room afforded for the worship of other gods besides Yahweh, room of which the people and their national leaders, priests and princes, did not fail freely to avail themselves. Hence the confusion of Yahweh with other deities, a confusion participated in even by Abraham, who in Gen. 18, gives to Yahweh the title of Adonai, a Canaanite deity worshipped at that period (Tammuz—HDB; Genesis, p. 24. Bennett). Further, this Father of Israel was perfectly willing to acknowledge and swear by the god of Melchizedek, whom he identifies with Yahweh although a Canaanite deity (Genesis—Driver, Bennet; Sayce—Early His. Heb., p. 29). Finally, at the time of Hosea, we have seen the women of Israel wearing the insignia of Adonis. It will be remembered that I referred to Prof. Hilprecht's regret that Dr. Trumbull had not gone into greater detail touching the rôle the serpent played in the primitive rite he discussed, and also as to the precise connection in which the tree and phallus stand to the threshold in each of the principal religions. As to the rôle of the serpent, I think it will be admitted that already we have amply shown that here it is to be clearly regarded as the male phallic emblem. We have not yet, however, touched definitely upon the relation of the tree and phallus to the threshold. To this, as throwing further light on the sign of the mother-goddess, we shall now turn.

The Tree, Serpent and Phallus.

Dr. Trumbull states that, "The tree or bush, is a universal symbol of the feminine in nature" (*ib.*, p. 214). For this assertion, while true, he gave practically no evidence. This, consequently, we ourselves will endeavor to supply.

Prof. Koenig, referring to the word Asherah tells us that it came "in later times to be used mainly as the name for the symbol of this goddess, viz., a tree in allusion to the fruitfulness of the life of nature" (Symbol-HDB). Here Prof. Koenig assumes that a tree as representing a mother-goddess was chosen because of its being a sign of nature's productiveness. In keeping with this we have Ishtar, another mother-goddess, identified with vegetation as the deity by whom it is produced (Jastrow—Bab-Assyr. Relig., p. 563). Prof. W. R. Smith sees in the tree of life (Gen. II, III) a primitive vegetarianism. That he is correct, is shown in the fact that in Babylonia the female palm tree was regarded as the stay and support of life. As such it was viewed as the sacred tree *par excellence* (Barton—SG, p. 92), being identified with Ishtar who was named "the goddess of the tree of life" (Sayce—Relig. Anct. Bab., p. 238 ff.). As with Babylonia so with Egypt, where the tree of life is the habitat of Nut, referred to as "Lady of the Sycamore, who bringeth bread, fruit, and water" (OR. I, 101). The sycamore of the East is a fruit-tree (Amos 7. 14) of a remarkable character bearing several crops of figs during the year. However, there is reason to think that in Egypt the palm was the original sacred tree. So it was in Etruria; while in Crete it was the fig-tree (Burrows—Discoveries in Crete, p. 134), as it was also in far off India, as well as in imperial Rome (Trumbull, *ib.*, p. 258; Frazer—Golden Bough, Vol. I, p. 169). It is true that trees were also worshipped as the abode of gods, but the instances given are sufficient to show that the tree *most* worshipped was the female tree on account of its fruit-producing quality. The difference in sex amongst trees was very early recognized—which resulted amongst other matters in the association of the serpent with the female fruit tree, the serpent being the sign of active or propagating life. In fig. 79, we have what Inman evidently correctly assumed to be a Greek representation of the seductiveness of Circe (*ib.*, p. 55). The young man is presumably Telemachus, and

the tree and serpent come from the garden of Hesperides. The picture, from its very plain representation tells its own story clearly, since every detail has a definite phallic significance. The attitude of the nude female as she embraces the male needs no comment. The tree is an apple tree, and "Eve's Apple," as the fruit she gave her husband is an assumed fact with many writers (Crawley—The Mystic Rose, p. 382). This idea, which, however, is not warranted, since the fruit Adam ate was more likely a date or a fig, has been derived from the fact than an apple has from earliest times been viewed as possessing aphrodisiac qualities. Crawley records that in South Slavonia the bride eats half an apple and gives the other half to the bridegroom, who eats it with her. Arnobius informs us that a certain Nana conceived a son by an apple (*op. cit.*, p. 236). The lover in Canticles when sick of love, asks to be refreshed with apples by his mistress. He complains, however, that she is a garden closed, a fountain sealed. Yet he continues to describe her form as a picture for delights, a stately palm, her breasts its clusters, and into whose branches he desires to climb, trusting that then those breasts will be as the clusters of the vine (2. 5; 4. 12; 7. 6-8). Compare the serpent of fig. 79, as it climbs into the branches of the tree, with the serpent encircling the egg and the tree stump (figs. 80, 81). Recall the idols showing the serpent near the vulva; see the tree on the right side of the two last figures and the concha shell of Venus on the opposite sides, and the scene in fig. 79, speaks, as we said, for itself. We see the serpent, the symbol of virility within a tree, the symbol of femininity. It is in fact but another form of the combined lingam and yoni of India.

In figs. 82-84, we have representations from Assyrian-Babylonian seals of the act of fertilizing the female palm artificially. In the celebrated seal depicting what has been erroneously assumed to be Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of knowledge, we have simply a god initiating, probably a priest or royal personage into the ritual of fertilizing the sacred tree (fig. 85).

Throughout this whole paper my object in discussing the sign of the mother-goddess, chiefly in the Semitic race, has been to show how large a part phallicism occupied in the religion of Israel. In fact, that Israel's entire religion as taught by its ordinary leaders, and adhered to by its princes and people from the beginning of

their history until the exile, was based upon phallicism, a form of religion in which a female deity occupied the chief place amongst the gods.

In his epoch-making work, "Semitic Origins," a volume written by a follower of the thought of the eminent scholar, W. R. Smith, the pupil, as in so many like cases, has surpassed the master. I refer to Prof. Chs. A. Barton, whose book, dealing as it does with the deep problems in the study of Semitic Religion, yet reads like a novel. Here Dr. Barton has shown that Ishtar was the primitive Semitic deity, the forerunner of all masculine deities, Yahweh himself being merely a transformed mother-goddess. He sees evidence of this in the prominence given to the rite of circumcision, and the use of the stone pillar in religious observances (pp. 102, 280). The origin of the latter he sees in the recognition of the phallus as an organ sacred to deity. To this he adds the wooden Asherah post, complete only as an object of ritual when embellished with the emblem of a doorway, symbolic of the physical doorway of life (Israel—HDB, p. 409). The existence of this embellishment he was good enough to credit me with having definitely brought to light, his words in a communication under date July 18th, 1907, being,—"What your new evidence proves is not that we were wrong in regarding the Asherah as a stump or pole of wood stuck in the earth, but that we did not know that this pole was a branch surmounted by a natural triangle." I had held this view in an article published in this journal in March, 1906, but I had there rejected the opinion that the Asherah had originated in tree-worship which the Asherah pole symbolized. Further study of the problem convinced me that I was in error here, that in fact the Asherah had had four forms. A tree; a post embellished as stated and representing the original thought of a tree; dual posts or pillars representing a horizontal doorway; and, finally a complete human image. The evidence of all this is first, that Ishtar was originally a tree-goddess dwelling in the female date palm. Her emblem alongside of the altar where she was worshipped consisted of a branch of this tree as a pole stuck into the ground and embellished as described. Thus it is that she was named, "Mother of the Sacred Pole" (Smith, *ib.*, p. 189). That dual pillars definitely represented a ritual gateway

amongst the Semites we have fully shown, being so understood and used even by the Israelites. Finally, the goddess was represented with a complete anthropomorphic image, such as we have given in our several figures. That the original living tree sometimes took the place of its representative pole is proved by figs. 64, 76, of which there are other examples (Toy—Ezekiel, p. 182). This is not to be wondered at when we recall that Abraham planted a sacred tree beneath which he reared an altar and called upon Yahweh (Gen. 21. 33; *cf.* 12. 6-8). Thus the Asherah which stood under every green tree with an altar and a pillar was undoubtedly a representative of a tree although the pole was chiefly used to exhibit the threshold doorway, a triangle. This brings me to consider fig. 86 which depicts Bel-Hanan-Beluzur a Babylonian ruler participating in an act of phallic workship (Maspero—The Passing of the Empires, p. 208). With "thumb inserted between the first and second fingers," a well-known phallic sign he holds the "phallic hand" in front of the emblem of the sun-pillar, behind which stands the phallic emblem of the moon, the triangle on a staff. This last symbol we see on the altar in fig. 87. Here it is not, as stated by Perrot and Chipiez, a symbol of the arrow-head writing set up on end (Art in Chal. Assyr., Vol. II, p. 198), but, as may easily be seen by comparing it with figs. 23, 24, 48-53, the Asherah post with its triangular headpiece. Figs. 88, 89, show that such a staff crowned with a triangle representing the moon, or moon-goddess was in common use. The first figure is taken from a Cyprian cylinder dating about 2000 B. C. where it stands in conjunction with a representation of a sacred tree, which tends to prove my opinion that the crowned Asherah post was, touching its staff, derived from and often stood under, as its representative, a real tree. In the present instance the actual moon crescent corresponds to the moon crescent on figs. 52, and shows that the triangle in a similar position was a phallic symbol of Ishtar the mother-goddess. The second figure was discovered in Palestine by Bliss and Macalister (Excavations in Palestine, pl. 64, fig. 57), and evidently exhibits the same triangle symbol as we see on fig. 44. Prof. Kennedy was undoubtedly correct in viewing the sun-pillar as emerging in latter times as the substitute for the earlier simple plain standing stone-pillar of Baal, but it seems to us that he is entirely mistaken in seeing in the standing pillar alongside of an

altar as partner of a standing pole, a representative of male deity which came at the end of a long process of evolution. He thinks that the origin of the standing stone is to be seen in the desire to appease the dead, such stone standing beside a grave and affording a habitat for the spirit of the deceased when it chose to return to its grave (Pillar—HDB). Prof. Barton's opinion that it originated as a symbol of the phallus, is undoubtedly the more correct.

In fig. 90, we have a picture of an ancient Egyptian tomb showing the gods Ra and Ma'ah sitting on either side of an Osiris phallic column shaped exactly like a phallus. They hold towards it the Ankh, the emblem of life, indicating the resurrection of the deceased as signified in the erect phallus. Standing stones, therefore, when placed at the grave of the deceased were phallic emblems of the deity in the first instance, and secondarily of the deceased when a male. As placed by the grave of Rachel (Gen. 35. 20) it represented Yahweh, exactly as Jacoh's pillar at Bethel.

In the phallic hand on figs. 84, 86, we see an explanation of one possible interpretation of Isa. 57. 8 "Thou didst see the hand," or "Thou hast beheld the phallic-hand" (Varium Ed; Delitzsch; Cheyne, l. c.). Or, as the margin of the RV gives it following the statement, "thou lovedst their bed," "thou providest room for it." An impossible interpretation, however, since the first is the literal rendering of the Hebrew. The reference is to the Assyrians with whom the daughters of Israel willingly and actually defiled themselves like the English women with the Danes recorded by the Chronicler Wallingford (History of Prostitution, p. 237. Sanger). Ezekiel was not idealizing in declaring, "she bestowed her whoredoms upon them, the choicest men of Assyria all of them and on whomsoever she doted. . . . she defiled herself" (23. 7). We see in figs. 91, 92, taken from an ancient Cyprian bronze patera, practices of the Phœnicians and evidently Israelites engraved possibly about the time of Ezekiel. Here we see a festival of Adonis-Aphrodite. Our figures show a woman being carried by a man, and another on a couch, both illustrating the debauchery to which Ezekiel calls attention. They are but evidence, however, of that phallic worship which we see emphasized by Abraham as already stated, and to which the Israelites had given themselves, as affirmed by this prophet, from the beginning of their history until the exile

(ver. 8). From Isa. 17. 10, we gather that the women of Israel were actually practising the ritual of the Adonis gardens which we see depicted on another Cyprian patera (OR. I, 123, 125; Adonis—HBD). The Traditional School sees in Solomon's temple a structure dedicated with a high ethical conception of deity. On the contrary, it was modeled precisely on the pattern of a Phœnician or Babylonian temple, and every feature depicted a phase of idolatry. The two pillars, the table of shew bread, the brazen sea, these and many more of the details were matters entirely of pagan thought and belief (Sayce, *ib.*, pp. 197, 467; Israel; Shewbread; Brazen-Sea—HDB. One Vol.). Serpent worship, of which there are traces in I K. 1. 9, is clearly seen in the worship offered to the brazen serpent in the temple itself, and before which incense was burnt (2 K. 18. 3, 5). To the critical student of the OT the fact that Solomon is recorded as having introduced the worship of Ashtoreth, whom he worshipped in company with other divinities, is not surprising (I K. II. 5. f.). Indeed, the wonder is that there is no record of his having introduced an image of Asherah into the temple itself, as Maacah, Ahab, and Manasseh did later. The fact of the matter is that the supposed law against idolatry, which the Traditional school credits to Moses, had no existence until the closing decades of the 7th cent., since it was only between the period of Elijah and the so-called second Isaiah that the religion of Israel became ethical and spiritual" (Israel—Barton-HDB). Before that it was mainly based on phallic or nature worship. In fig. 93, we have a rude representation of an erect serpent on an altar which is in company with the Asherah altar of fig. 87, both representations being taken from a Babylonian boundary stone. Here it corresponds to the sun-pillar seen on other altars on Babylonian seal cylinders. Indeed, it more graphically exhibits their significance, the serpent being the living symbol of virility, a fact strikingly seen in figs. 38, 39. In fig. 94 we have a representation of the nature goddess of Crete, taken from Mosso's "Palaces of Crete," p. That we have here a snake goddess, Burrows shows beyond controversy (Discoveries in Crete, p. 138). This Cretan snake goddess, however, corresponds with the Egyptian snake goddess, Qatesch, of fig. 37. Moreover, she is distinctly a mother-goddess, corresponding with the great Paphian goddess of sexual love. From the snake in her hand we may see an explanation

of the snake associated with Eve in Eden. As I have shown in another issue of this journal (March, 1906), Crawley and Ellis are fully justified in seeing in this narrative (Gen. III) a sex story told in euphemistic language. A story in keeping with the phallic thought which runs so conspicuously throughout the whole of the OT, in which we find a complete history of the worship of the sign of the mother goddess, the female triangular pudendum.

LITERATURE

The evolution of the world: or, science from a religious point of view, by F. L. RAWSON. Garden City, Herts, Letchworth, Printers, Limited (1909). 244 p.

This imposing quarto in its first section discusses a concrete word picture, mysteries of our world, their solutions, natural law merely memoria technica, knowledge of God, evolution of the God sense, what is heaven? The second section treats a consistent theory of phenomenon, the reality of matter, the so-called evolution of the material world and its end. The third, of the human mind, its powers, dangers ahead, safe way to work, and divine power; the fourth treats philosophical theories, Christianity, inspiration; section five, mental effect, modern views, medical recognition, admitted ignorance, practical experience, divine healing, evolution of prayer; section six, the carnal mind at enmity against God; section seven, our duty, responsibility, free choice, work, learning to pray aright. There are also eleven appendixes.

The religion of the spiritual evolution of man. Anonymous. Chicago, E. A. Rogers, 1910. 105 p.

This work is generously dedicated "of necessity to all mankind." The veiled author tells us that his name would add nothing of weight but that for thirty years he has felt that science owed to humanity a "religious philosophy that would comprehend all ascertained truth and assert its rational relations to the infinite One." It is not presented as an original work but as one of assimilation, suggestion and construction, and so he discusses the reign of law, the infinite One, the divine plan, religion of spiritual evolution or of the future, necessity of united effort, primary organization, the individual and the family in spiritual evolution, immortality, and ends with meditations upon these subjects.

L'Évolution des Dogmes, by CHARLES GUIGNEBERT. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1910. 351 p. Bibliothèque de philosophie scientifique.

This is an ingenious suggestive treatise on revelation, inspiration, the books of the Canon, tradition, interpretation, the general life of dogma, its birth, obstacles, development, relations to life and faith, its authoritative formulization, the progress and the death of dogma. It is always a result of laborious collaboration, which to a certain stage is a rather exquisite expression, the consensus of culture surrounding ultimate organization.

Christi Person und Werk nach der Lehre seiner Jünger, von D. ALFRED SEEBERG. A. Deichert, Leipzig, 1910. 109 p.

The author first discusses the age and origin of the Apostolic writings and then the productions of post-apostolic times. He attempts in the third chapter to give a characterization of the personality and work of Jesus according to the Apostles.

The shorter Bible, being the authorized version of the Bible arranged and edited for the use of schools and for home reading. Edited by Arthur Burrell. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1909. 664 p.

The only difference between this and the ordinary Bible is the omissions here. The narrative is from the Genesis to the rebuilding of the temple. The Poetical and Prophetical Books are represented by selections from the best known chapters, while a few extracts from the Old Testament Apocrypha are added. In the New Testament, the Gospel of Matthew is practically untouched, while Mark is omitted. The whole of the Acts are included, but the Epistles are represented by selections only. It is intended for home and for school use.

The ethics of Jesus, being the William Belden Noble lectures for 1909, by HENRY CHURCHILL KING. The Macmillian Co., New York, 1910. 293 p. (New Testament Handbooks, edited by Shailer Matthews.)

The author's method of approach involves a rather detailed survey of all the passages in the teachings of Jesus that can be recorded as clearly ethical and seeks to help to make more objective the results of the inquiry as well as to more completely insure that the teaching itself should be unfolded rather than simply talked about. The chapters are: the ethical teachings in Schmiedel's foundation pillar passages and in the doubly attested sayings; the ethical teachings in Mark and in the other common source of Matthew and Luke, regarded as the oldest; estimate of the ethical teachings in the sayings of Jesus peculiar to either Matthew or Luke; the Sermon on the Mount as a whole; Jesus' conception of the basic qualities of life; a study of the beatitudes; the great motives of life in the Sermon on the Mount.

Church work with boys, by WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1910. 105 p.

This book is designed for the reading of church workers and for study in classes by those who are preparing to be of service to the men of to-morrow. After telling what church work with boys means, the author discusses the way of God, with the boy, the principles of church work, the work of men for boys, how to teach a boys' Sunday School class and to conduct the church boys' club, with a concluding chapter on boys and the kingdom. At the end of each chapter is an outline for the study of the topic and suggestions for further reading and the work concludes with a valuable select reference list of books upon the nature and nurture of the individual boy.

Die Programm der Religionspsychologie, von R. WIELANDT. Tübingen, Mohr, 1910. 40 p.

The writer gives a brief review of the tendencies and a few of the recent works in this field, insisting that those who enter even the historical field must keep their eyes fixed upon religion itself, which is a radically different matter from either culture history, theology, textual criticism, ethics or religious philosophy. Religion is a more manifold and indeed more social thing than any of these theories imply.

The Psychology of Religious Experience, by EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1910. 428 p.

The author's point of view is "that of functional psychology which is necessarily genetic and social." His conception of religion is "the consciousness of the

highest social values." After two chapters on the history and methods of psychology of religion, the author discusses its origin in the race which he finds to be totem, taboo, ceremonials, magic, experience, sacrifice, prayer and mythology. Part third treats of the rise of religion in the individual, its relations to childhood, adolescence, normal development, conversions; while the fourth part treats of the place of religion in the experience of the individual and society, discusses its relations to the entire psychic life, to ideas, feelings, psychology of religious genius and inspiration, the religious sects, relations to democracy and science, and non-religious people.

Jesus als Charakter, von JOHANNES NINCK. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrich, 1910. 396 p.

This book claims to be a careful psychological analysis pointing toward a sharper conception of the personality of Jesus. He first answers the question what is character, and his book is divided into sections of about ten subdivisions each, which treat will, love, and obedience.

Prolegomena to theism. New York, Andrew H. Kellog Co., 1910. 70 p.

This anonymous book is a bundle of aphorisms on the subject, with no author or index or very special coherence or *raison d'être* that is obvious on the surface. Much is said about categories, the law of logical process and effect, ontology, submanence, essentia, essendi, definibilitas essendi, reals essendi, immanence the principal force of the soul, the effect-force of the soul, extramanence, etc. It is a general mesh of definitions.

An adventure, by ELIZABETH MORISON and FRANCES LAMONT. London, Macmillan & Co., 1911. 162 p.

The chapters are (1) three visits to the Petit Trianon; (2) the results of research; (3) answers to questions; (4) a rêverie. This is an account of a very mystic experience of communion with the souls of those who formerly inhabited this old castle.

The psychology of belief, by JAMES LINDSAY. London, William Blackwood & Sons, 1910. 71 p.

Belief in its higher forms, we are told, is a movement of our being so central and fundamental that its issue is life. It influences activity in every sphere of individual being. It is a psychology and not a rhetoric which claims for faith or living belief every Marathon, every Thermopylæ, which holds Socrates, Columbus, Washington as having been inspired and sustained by faith, which regards the creative faculty of genius as finding its very life so much in belief that without this, there would be no Homer, Dante, etc.

The truth we owe to youth, by HENRY HAMILL. Freiburg, Barden, 1910. 91 p.

This little work consists of a series of directions regarding the training of sex for infancy, childhood, puberty, adolescence and maturity, these being the chapters. We cannot think the author has added anything of importance. He certainly does not seem to be familiar with the best of the recent literature upon the subject, although he mentions a few titles of standard works in his various appendices.

The modern missionary challenge: a study of the present day world missionary enterprise, its problems and results, by JOHN P. JONES. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910. 361 p.

The purpose of this book is to give a fresh and modern presentation of the missionary enterprise from the standpoint of the missionary, and so it furnishes a

discussion of the problem more with an eye to the mission field than to the home base. This fact constitutes both the strength and the weakness of the book. The following are the chief topics discussed; the subjective source of the challenge, new conditions and problems, methods and ideals, present day triumphs, affairs, agencies, magnitude of the task, future outlook.

The science of ethics, by MICHAEL CRONIN, D. D. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1909. 660 p. (Volume 1, General Ethics.)

The purpose of this work is to present to students "a full and accurate account of the ethical system of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas." To this system the author gives his fullest assent and adherence, based on a conviction that has grown stronger with time. Ethics is defined as "the science of human conduct, as according with human reason and as directed by reason towards man's final natural end," or as "the science of moral good and evil in human acts." This perhaps will suffice to characterize the general standpoint of the book. It is a very learned and able treatise and will be welcomed by all students of ethics.

Christ lore, being the legends, traditions, myths, symbols, customs and superstitions of the Christian church, by FREDERICK WM. HACKWOOD. London, Elliot Stock, 1902. 290 p.

This work appeals rather to the general reader than to the archeologist or ethnologist. Its merit is its arrangement of the lore and legends in such relations as will put the material at the use of the reader. The matter is grouped around the Virgin Mary, the birth and childhood of Christ, incidents in his mission, teachings, passion, stations of the cross, the greater passion, the composition of the true cross, resurrection, ascension. There are many crude old cuts.

History of ethics within organized Christianity, by THOMAS CUMING HALL. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. 605 p.

The author's main purpose in this study was to understand and help others understand the essential message of Our Lord, the simplicity of whose message has been obscured and overlaid by other elements. He taught that human nature could not change, and this the *Zeitgeist* doubts and so does the skeptic and agnostic. The author discusses the preparation for Christianity, the New Testament ethics, that of the early church, the old Catholic bishops church and its ethics, militant papacy and its ethics, scholasticism and its ethics, English reformation and its ethics, the continental reformation and its ethics, the merging of churchly with philosophical ethics. The author is more industrious as a historian than he is learned or even insightful as a philosopher. 'The summary chapter 9 is in our profound conviction just one of those chapters that never should be written. Many footnotes indicate learning and special study in this field, but in a score of pages the author covers a whole vast field and does so in the most superficial way. Academic theses occasionally show this same fault.

The seekers, by JESSIE E. SAMPTER. With an introduction by Josiah Royce. New York, Mitchell Kennerley, 1910. 302 p.

This book we are told, is a live book, lived first and written afterwards. Professor Royce writes an introduction which is quite commendatory of it. The author tells us her purpose in writing the book was twofold; to record how philosophical clubs and classes work in practice and thereby to suggest a method from experience and also give in a large way the main outlines of his thought from fifteen

years on. The members of the club, or dramatis personæ, are, besides the writer, four girls, fifteen and sixteen and a boy of fifteen. It is rather curious to see the movements of thought of these first philosophical stirrings of mind in these young people. The author very considerately gives an epitome at the end of the discussions. The meetings are devoted to great themes like evolution, matter and spirit, God and prayer, immortality, beauty, art, goodness, loyalty, social, religions, etc.

The person and place of Jesus Christ. The Congregational Union Lecture for 1909. By P. T. FORSYTH. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1910. 357 p.

These, the author wishes it understood, are lectures and not a treatise, and this is his excuse for certain repetitions. He treats of lay apostolic religions, and the religion of Jesus and the gospel of Christ, the greatness of Christ and the interpretations thereof, the testimony of his self-consciousness, was he a part of his own gospel? the testimony of apostolic inspiration in general and in part, the moralizing of dogma illustrated by God's missionaries and the absoluteness of Christ, the latter's pre-existence, his kenosis or self-emptying and his plerosis or self fulfillment.

The Apocalypse unsealed, being an esoteric interpretation of the initiation of Iôannês commonly called the revelation of (St.) John, with a new translation by JAMES M. PRYSE. New York, James M. Pryse, 9-15 Murray St. 222 p.

The introduction contains four chapters, the key of the gnosis, the faith of power, the riddle of revelation, the drama of self-conquest, and the initiation of Iôannês. The purpose of the work is to show that the Apocalypse is a manual of spiritual development and not, as is usually supposed, a cryptic history of prophecy. The author assures us that we shall find in his book a "complete solution of the Apocalypse engima" with ample proofs of the correctness of the solution. He finds it necessary to re-translate a good deal of the Apocalypse and his interpretation is certainly ingenious.

God and man; Philosophy of the higher life, by E. ELLSWORTH SHUMAKER. New York, Putnam, 1909. 408 p.

The writer treats of man as set into the universe or the physical sciences that enfold him, the enfolding human spheres, the wide ranging gamut of man's powers, the world all at work, what God and man are working toward, man as an expression of God and the partaker of His nature, the astounding riches of the higher life.

Christianity and the modern mind, by SAMUEL MCCOMB. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1910. 343 p.

This book is made up of five essays that have been printed elsewhere, to which as many more chapters are added. Sample topics are the intellect in religion, what we know about Jesus Christ, the Christian religion, miracles, suffering, the new belief in prayer, its difficulties and methods, immortality, science and human nature, reason in modern society, the new concept of missions.

Church work with boys, by WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1910. 105 p.

This is really based on the author's well-known "Boy Problem" and deals with the special but important part of social work done for boys in churches, states

its significance, principles and methods. It is designed for reading church workers, treats of the work of men for boys, how to teach a boys' Sunday school class, conduct a club, boys' work and the kingdom, the ways of God with boys.

The Gospel of the modern man, by SHAILER MATHEWS. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1910. pp. 331.

The first chapter is the Gospel of the New Testament; then follow modern man, the content of the Gospel. In Part II, entitled the reasonableness of the Gospel, the author first treats Jesus, the Christ. Then follow chapters on the love of God, or law; the forgiveness of sin; the deliverance from death.

La cure d'ame moderne et ses bases religieuses et scientifiques, par CH. DURAND-PALLOT. Genève, Edition Atar, n. d. 405 p.

This book, which contains an introduction by Flournoy, first states the problem of mental healing, falsely so-called, and its renovations. The second part deals with the pathogeny of sin; the sin of habit, of disease, anger, nervous asthenias. The third part is entitled the war against sin, medical as contrasted with psychic treatment, and the intergrowth cure.

The fundamentals. A testimony to the truth. Chicago, Testimony Publishing Company, n. d. 126 p.

This is a series of essays by different authors on the Virgin birth of Christ, His deity, Purpose of the incarnation, Personality of the deity, and the Holy Spirit. Proof of the living God, History of the higher criticism and the personal testimony. It is representative of the reactions of the advanced clergy to modern problems raised by the higher criticism.

The vision of the young man Menelaus; studies of Pentecost and Easter, by the author of "Resurrectio Christi." London, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910. 210 p.

The author treats of the visions of men who are raised from the dead, the visions of young men, the double view of Pentecost, how the five hundred were brought to Jerusalem, the first, second, and third psychological question, were all the Christophanies subliminal? our theory in the light of St. Paul, the compressibility of events.

The unexplored self, an introduction to Christian doctrine for teachers and students. By GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910. 249 p.

This work treats of the worth of man, the divinity of Christ, the witness to God, the mystery made manifest, Incarnation, the living Christ, self-giving, kinship and the cross, the first and great command, authority, communion of the Holy Spirit, doubt and shrinking back, faith and appraisal, the treasure and the self, religion, the grade of things precious, the re-born self, confidence in the ideal, the place of the church, men and women of to-morrow.

Religion. First, Second and Third Book. Washington, Catholic Education Press. 3 v. *Third Reader. Catholic Education Series.* 224 p.

This is a very interesting and original series edited by Professor Shields, one of the ablest and most accomplished of all Catholic editors. It is a judicious mixture of nature study, religion and everyday life, with music and art as represented by many colored pictures from the great masters occupying a prominent place. The third reader contains stories illustrating the great virtues from not only

ancient and religious but from modern secular life. We commend this interesting series to the careful scrutiny of every student of education.

History of New Testament criticism, by F. C. CONYBEARE. London, Watts & Co., 1910. 146 p.

This little book is confessedly sketchly and elementary. It may nevertheless serve the purpose of some readers as an introduction to the subject. It dwells perhaps rather too much upon the pioneers in the field. It also contains many cuts of leaders, from Lessing to Renan.

Studies in Chinese religion, by E. H. PARKER. London, Chapman & Hall, 1910. 308 p.

The writer first treats of the Chinese spiritual life, then of Taoism and its development, and passes then to Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity in China. The work contains a number of interesting illustrations.

Suggestions for a syllabus in religious teaching, by G. B. AYRE. N. Y., Longmans, Green and Co., 1911. 147+28 p.

This is the product of years of study by one deeply interested and is addressed to those who teach both in home and school. The effort is to grade and correlate Scripture with general education and to avoid things that must be unlearned. The fatherhood of God, with which the book begins, is taught by showing his care for his children in warmth, food, clothing and the gift of Jesus, in the lives of the great heroes of the Old Testament, then comes incidents in the life of Christ; the fatherhood as revealed in earthly parenthood, the history of the chosen people, the life of Jesus according to Mark, the apostles, and the Bible generally.

The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman, George William Gilmore and others. New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1910. Vol. VIII, 500 p.

Volume VIII, which extends from morality to Petersen, seems to keep well up to the standard of the earlier volumes.

The spiritual nature of man, by STANTON COIT. The West London Ethical Society, The Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, 1910. 112 p.

This work treats on reality of the mental life, the mystery of spirit communications, the power of the group spirit, spiritual environment as the origin of moral life.

Le discernment du miracle ou le miracle et les quatre critiques, par P. SAINTYVES. Paris, Nourry, 1909. 357 p.

Saintyves discusses the four points of view from which miracles are regarded, viz., the historical, b. the scientific, c. philosohpical, d. theological.

Letters from the teacher. (Of the order of the 15.) Transmitted by Rahmea, priestess of the flame. Edited by J. Homer Curtiss, Secretary of the Order. Vol. 1. Pub. by the Curtiss Book Co., Denver, 1909. pp. 162.

Jesus. Versuch einer anschaulichen Darstellung; seines Leben für den Schulgebrauch. Von OSKAR PLADRA, Präparandenlehrer in Prenzlau. Leipzig, Dürr, 1910. 71 p.

Dieu et Science. Essai de Psychologie des Sciences, par ÉLIE DE CYON. Paris, Félix Alcan, 1910. 444 p.

After a general introduction describing our age as the evening twilight of metaphysics and the morning of natural philosophy, the author first discusses time and space, the geometric sense and the physiological basis of the geometry of Euclid, then the sense of arithmetic and number. The second part, headed body, mind and spirit, considers the physiological differentiation of psychic functions and aberrations. The third takes up evolution and transformation and considers the popularization of scientific questions, the greatness and decay of Darwinism, the struggle of science against the doctrines of Haeckel; while the fourth part considers God and man, religion, science, morals, and various other matters. The work is written as though everything were final and definite and the author held the key of the universe and allowed his readers to peep in here and there.

The Development of Religion. A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology, by IRVING KING. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. 371 p.

This work considers first the possibility and scope of the psychology of religion; then deals with questions preliminary to the study of its evolution. Other chapters consider consciousness of value, the genesis of the religious attitude, origin of religious practices, the mysterious power, magic and religion, still further religious attitudes, origin and development of concepts of divine personages, problem of monotheism and the higher ethical conceptions of deity, religion and morals with special reference to the Australians, connection of religion with pathological experiences, religious valuation and supernaturalism.

The Story of Paul of Tarsus. Written from the outline prepared by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON.

Manual for Teachers, by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910. 194 p. (Constructive Bible Studies. Elementary Series.)

Directions for Home Study, by LOUISE WARREN ATKINSON. The University of Chicago Press, 1910. 76 p.

We have here a set of lesson papers, thirty-eight in number, on the life of Saint Paul. First comes the Manual for Teachers, with the story, his boyhood, student days, the great change in his life, and his four journeys. The small book is for pupils to prepare their lesson in at home. Then comes a set of lesson papers in blanks where the story is told with a great many omissions which the pupils are to fill in. Along with these go pictures to be used by the pupils, perhaps nearly one to a lesson. The whole together constitute a carefully elaborated scheme which ought to work well.

Mental Medicine. Some practical suggestions from a spiritual standpoint, by OLIVER HUCKEL. New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. 219 p.

This is a series of conferences with students of the Johns Hopkins Medical School. The subject of the first conference is mental and spiritual factors in the problem of health, the new outlook for health, unique powers of the mind, spiritual mystery of the body. The second conference is on the therapeutic value of faith and prayer; the third on the possibilities of the control of the subconscious, the training of hidden energies; the fourth on the casting out of fear and worry and the control of the imagination; the fifth, the higher factors in the re-education of the nerves,

gospel of relaxation, inspirational method of outlook. These addresses were given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. in connection with the Phipps endowment of a million for the special equipment of students of mental disease. It is indeed significant that a clergyman should be invited to lecture under these auspices. Psychotherapy is here treated essentially as a matter of education and re-education. It is at any rate hoped that this course will aid clergymen and physicians to come into closer relations with each other and to understand one another better.

The Christian Religion as a Healing Power. A Defense and Exposition of the Emmanuel Movement, by ELWOOD WORCESTER and SAMUEL MCCOMB. New York, Moffat, Yard and Company, 1909. 130 p.

This book is supplemental to their former work entitled "Religion and Medicine." Much is said in answer to criticism, and the *raison d'être* of the movement is given again. It is defended from charges, contrasted with Christian Science, and the various objections, theological and psychological, are met. The work really contains very little that is new. The authors have apparently just heard of the psychoanalytic method and a hazy general statement about it occupies some few pages of this work.

Faith and Health, by CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. 234 p.

The chapters here treat of the healing miracles of Christ, modern faith cures, the pros and cons of Christian Science, healing power of suggestion, the Emmanuel movement, the gospel of good health, and the church and disease. This book is a very excellent epitome of the subject but contains, we believe, nothing new to those who have followed its rather surprising development within the last few years.

The religion of the Chinese, by J. M. DEGROOT. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1910. 230 p.

These lectures were delivered at the Hartford Theological Seminary under the Lamson Fund and were designed primarily to give students contemplating mission work in China a knowledge of the religious history, belief, customs, of those among whom they expect to labor. The lectures are given by scholars of the first rank in the field. This work treats the following subjects,—universalistic animism, polydemonism, the struggle against spectres, ancestral worship, Confucianism, Taoism, and two concluding lectures on Buddhism. The author has written a number of interesting works on this subject before. Lucid and interesting as the work is, we can but wish that he had given more attention to bibliography, at least to the extent of supplying the reader with footnote references to the more important topics which he treats.

The right to Believe, by ELEANOR HARRIS ROWLAND. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston, 1909. 202 p.

The chapters are as follows: The Necessity for Belief, Does God Exist? The Nature of God and Man, the Divinity of Christ, the Principle of Evil, and Prayers. The chief desire of the author apparently is to answer questions and silence doubts, a problem that is very practical to a teacher of girls in a conservative institution.

The Child and His Religion, by GEORGE E. DAWSON. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 124 p.

Although the material for this book is largely drawn from magazine articles and addresses already given to the public, this book was well worth making. It is

the work of a serious and earnest student in this field who for a number of years has devoted himself to it with great diligence and success. The chapter heads are as follows: Interest as a Measure of Values; the Natural Religion of Childhood; Children's Interest in the Bible; the Problem of Religious Education.

The Sunday Kindergarten—Game, Gift, and Story. A manual for use in the Sunday School and in the Home, by CARRIE S. FERRIS. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 271 p. (Constructive Bible Studies. Elementary Series.)

Christ and the Eastern Soul, by CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909. 208 p. (The Barrows Lectures 1906-1907.)

These Barrows lectures are dedicated to thoughtful Indians by a Westerner who believes in the unity of the human race and has high expectations of the India of the future.

Selections from the Old Testament. Edited with introduction and notes by Henry Nelson Snyder. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1911. 210 p.

These are designed to meet the recommendation of the Educational Conference uniform entrance requirements in England, February 12th, which recommended selections from the Old Testament containing at least the chief narrative episodes in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Daniel, together with the books of Ruth and Esther.

In the hand of the potter, by HAROLD BEGBIE. New York, Hodder and Stoughton, 1911. 288 p.

This book comprises about a dozen tales of remarkable change of heart or regeneration due to religious workers in London slums. The stories are told with no art and indeed are almost exasperatingly clumsy in their method of presentation, but they are still very effective. The author evidently, like other social workers, believes in radical regeneration.

Angelus Silesius, a selection from the rhymes of German mystics. Translated in the original meter by Paul Carus. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. 174 p.

Dr. Carus has here translated a large number of brief poems, all of them in four or eight line verse, concerning the mysteries of God, eternity and time, God and His works, His creatures, ownhood, otherhood and Godhood imitation of Christ, sanctification, love and death.

The new Schaff-Herzog enclopedia of religious knowledge, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman, and George William Gilmore. Vol. 9. Petri-Reuchlin. N. Y., Funk & Wagnalls, 1911. 500 p.

The dweller on the threshold, by ROBERT HICHENS. New York, The Century Company, 1911. 273 p.

Fünfter Weltkongress für freies Christentum und Reliögisen Fortschritt. Protokoll der Verhandlunger, hrsgb D. MAX FISCHER und D. FRIEDRICK MICHAEL SCHIELE. Beerlin, Verlag der Protestantischen Schriftenvertriebs. 1910. 349 p.

The functions of the church in modern society, by WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911. 110 p.

LIST OF PAPERS IN THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY PRESENTED AT CLARK UNIVERSITY

By Louis N. Wilson

The subject of religious psychology has, from the opening of the University in 1889, received a great deal of attention here. President Hall's view of psychology has been much influenced by the religious element and he has drawn about him a number of men, during the past twenty-two years, who have made distinct contributions to the subject.

With the opening of the Library Building in 1903 the Library department of Religious Psychology was very much strengthened and a special alcove set aside for its books and journals. Early in 1904 the Library also undertook the publication of a new journal, *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, edited by President Hall with the co-operation of Professors Théodore Flournoy, James H. Leuba, Edwin D. Starbuck, R. M. Wenley, and Jean Du Buy.

While the journal has not accomplished all that was hoped for, and while its issues have been somewhat irregular, it has made possible the publication of many articles written from a new point of view and not represented by any other journal.

With the issue of the first number of volume five, in October, the journal will take on a new face of type and a new and, it is hoped, a more attractive form.

There has been a great deal of unrest in religious matters throughout the world during the past fifty years. Men have broken away from the old religious forms and are demanding a reconstruction on scientific lines.

In Germany even, where religion has State sanction, there has been a decided change in the University attitude towards the Theological departments. The curriculum has been broadened and made far more scientific, so that more of the abler students are now attracted than have been for many

years past. In 1907 Dr. Joh. Bresler brought our the first issue of a new monthly journal—*Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*—which met with a cordial welcome at once. It is now in its fifth volume and Dr. Bresler has associated with him on its editorial board Dr. George Runze, Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin, and Dr. Otto Klemm, Docent in Psychology at the University of Leipzig.

In Great Britian there has been a corresponding revival of scientific interest in religious matters, evidenced by the establishment of *The Hibbert Journal* in 1902.

In France, where these matters have been brought very forcibly to the front by the separation of Church and State, after a close alliance of a hundred years, men are showing a renewed interest in religion based upon scientific investigation and research.

In our own country the field is a fascinating one and the promise for the years immediately ahead most encouraging. In 1908 the Divinity Faculty at Harvard University started the *Harvard Theological Review*, now in its fourth volume. Two years earlier the Religious Education Association of Chicago established *Religious Education*, a journal of a more popular character, but with a good list of contributors. Of course such journals cannot pay expenses and must for some years rely upon financial aid from some outside source.

The papers here listed do not include President Hall's many contributions on religious subjects to journals published outside the University nor to the many similar papers by Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain which may be found in the pages of the *American Journal of Folk Lore* and in recent issues of *Harper's Magazine*.

They are divided into three groups;

I. Theses presented for the degree of Master of Arts. These theses are not required to be printed but are deposited in the Library of the University. Wherever they have been printed the fact is stated.

II. Theses presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. These must be printed, but a reasonable time is allowed the candidate for this purpose. The five papers not yet printed are nearly ready for publication and may be expected very soon.

III. This group represents the papers—not degree theses—published in the journals issued at Clark University—*The American Journal of Psychology; The Pedagogical Seminary*; *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education; The Journal of Race Development, and The Proceedings of the Child Conference for Research and Welfare.* The majority of these articles have been contributed by those who have been or are connected with the University; where such is not the case the name of the author is marked with an asterisk.

I

Theses Presented for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

1. BEESON, WILLIAM J. The child and his religious development.
2. BIVIN, GEORGE D. The phylogenetic significance of religious conversion.
3. BUTLER, HARRY J. Stations of the cross: their history and psychology.
4. CARROLL, CHARLES S. The catholic confessional: its history, doctrine and psychology.
5. CASHEN, GEORGE B. Jesuit missionaries in Japan: their history and psychology.
6. CONKLIN, EDMUND SMITH. Collegiate religious education.
7. DOWD, JOHN E. The sacrifice of the mass in the catholic church.
8. HAYNES, ROWLAND. Religious faith as an individual experience.
9. HELIE, EUCLID. The religious and moral aspects of stoicism.
10. KANDA, SAKYO. An examination of Buddha's atheism and non-atmanism.
11. MCNAMARA, FRANCIS P. A brief history of christian marriage and divorce.
12. MOYLE, HENRY B. Moral imbecility.
13. RUSSELL, JAMES A. The religious crisis in France: its history, causes and results.
14. ST. JOHN, EDWARD P. A genetic study of veracity. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1908. Vol. 15, pp. 246-270.
15. SALMON, JOHN J. Saint invocation and religious memorials in the catholic church.
16. SPARKMAN, COLLYS F. Satan and his ancestors from a psychological standpoint.

II

Theses presented for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

17. ARNETT, LONNA D. The soul: a study of past and present beliefs. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April and July, 1904. Vol. 15, pp. 121-200; 347-382.

18. DANIELS, ARTHUR. The new life: a study of regeneration. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Oct., 1893. Vol. 6, pp. 61-106.
19. DAWSON, GEO. E. Psychic rudiments and morality. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1900. Vol. 11, pp. 181-224.
20. COOLEY, HERBERT C. The religious education of children.
21. GODDARD, HENRY H. The effects of mind on body as evidenced by faith cures. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1899. Vol. 10, pp. 431-502.
22. HARVEY, MCLEOD. The pedagogy of missions.
23. HASLETT, SAMUEL B. The pedagogical bible school. N. Y., F. H. Revell Co., 1903. 383 p.
24. HILL, DAVID SPENCE. The education and problems of the protestant ministry. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Dec., 1906-June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 204-256; May, 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 29-70.
25. HITCHCOCK, ALBERT W. The psychology of Jesus. A study of the development of His self-consciousness. Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1907. 279 p.
26. HYLAN, JOHN P. Public worship: a study in the psychology of religion. Chicago, Open Court Pub. Co., 1901. 94 p.
27. LEUBA, JAMES H. A study in the psychology of religious phenomena. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1896. Vol. 7, pp. 309-385.
28. MAGNI, JOHN A. The ethnological background of the Eucharist. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1910. Vol. 4, pp. 1-47
29. MOSES, JOSIAH. Pathological aspects of religion. Worcester, Mass., Clark Univ. Press, 1906. 264 p.
30. MYERS, GEORGE EDMUND. Moral training in the school; a comparative study. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1906. Vol. 13, pp. 409-460.
31. ODUM, HOWARD W. Religious folk-songs of the southern negroes. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, July, 1909. Vol. 3, pp. 265-365.
32. SPIDLE, SIMEON. The belief in immortality.
33. STARBUCK, EDWIN D. Some aspects of religious growth. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Oct., 1897. Vol. 9, pp. 70-124.
34. STOUTEMYER, JOHN H. A comparative study of mission methods.
35. STREET, J. RICHARD. A genetic study of immortality. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1899. Vol. 6, pp. 267-313.
36. WADDLE, CHARLES W. Miracles of healing. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1909. Vol. 20, pp. 219-268.
37. WEAVER, EDWARD E. Psycho-therapeutic evangelism.
38. WILLCOX, INMAN I. The psychological aspect of the doctrines of sin and salvation. Oxford, N. Y., Times Pub. Co., 1910. 54 p.

III

Papers contributed to Journals published at Clark University.

39.* BARNES, EARL. Theological life of a California child. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1893. Vol. 2, pp. 442-447.

40.* BARTLETT, LUCY C. My inner life. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 210-235.

41.* BECK, FRANK O. Prayer: A study in its history and psychology. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 107-121.

42.* BRADNER, LESTER. The younger grades in the sunday school. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 563-565.

43.* BROCKMAN, F. S. A study of the moral and religious life of 251 preparatory school students in the United States. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1902. Vol. 9, pp. 255-273.

44. BROENE, JOHANNES. The philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1910. Vol. 4, pp. 68-170.

45.* BROWN, DAISY B. Young people's ideas of the value of Bible study. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1910. Vol. 17, pp. 370-386.

46.* CARPENTER, EDWARD. On the connection between homosexuality and divination and the importance of the intermediate sexes generally in early civilizations. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, July, 1911. Vol. 4, pp. 219-243.

47.* CLAPP, RAYMOND G. New departures in sunday school pedagogy. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 530-536.

48. COLVIN, STEPHEN S. The psychological necessity of religion. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1902. Vol. 13, pp. 80-87.

49. DAWSON, GEORGE E. A study in youthful degeneracy. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1896. Vol. 4, pp. 221-258.

50. —— ——. Children's interest in the Bible. *Ped. Sem.*, July, 1900. Vol. 7, pp. 151-178.

51.* DUBOIS, PATTERSON. The functioning of the sunday school. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 357-360.

52. DU BUY, JEAN. Stages of religious development. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 7-29.

53. —— ——. Four types of protestants. A comparative study in the psychology of religion. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 165-209.

54. ELLIS, A. CASWELL. Sunday school work and Bible study in the light of modern pedagogy. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1896. Vol. 3, pp. 363-412.

55. ELLIS, G. HAROLD. The pedagogy of Jesus. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1902. Vol. 9, pp. 441-459.

56. FRANCE, JOSEPH I. The universal belief and its rationality. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 95-106.

57. GULICK, LUTHER. Psychological, pedagogical and religious aspects of group games. *Ped. Sem.*, March, 1899. Vol. 6, pp. 135-150.

58. HALL, G. STANLEY. The moral and religious training of children and adolescents. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1891. Vol. 2, pp. 196-210.

59. —— ——. Children's lies. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1890. Vol. 3, pp. 59-70. *Also Ped. Sem.*, June, 1891. Vol. 1, pp. 211-218.

60. HALL, G. STANLEY. Moral education and will training. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1892. Vol. 2, pp. 72-89.
61. —— ——. A study of fears. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1897. Vol. 8, pp. 147-249.
62. —— ——. A study of anger. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, July, 1899. Vol. 10, pp. 516-591
63. —— ——. Some fundamental principles of sunday school and Bible teaching. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1901. Vol. 8., pp. 439-468.
64. —— ——. Christianity and physical culture, *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1902. Vol. 9, pp. 374-378.
65. —— ——. The Jesus of history and of the passion *versus* the Jesus of the resurrection. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 30-64.
66. —— ——. The efficiency of the religious work of the Young Men's Christian Association. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1905. Vol. 12, pp. 478-489.
67. —— ——. The education of ministers, and sunday school work among the unitarians. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1905. Vol. 12, pp. 490-495.
68. —— ——. Relation of the church to education. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1908. Vol. 15, pp. 186-196.
69. —— ——. Sunday observance. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1908. Vol. 15, pp. 217-229.
70. —— ——. Mission pedagogy. *Jour. of Race Development* Oct., 1910. Vol. 1, pp. 127-146.
Comments on the above. *Jour. of Race Development*, April, 1911. Vol. 1, pp. 503-518.
71. HAYES, SAMUEL P. An historical study of the Edwardean revivals. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Oct., 1902. Vol. 13, pp. 550-574.
72.* HODGE, FREDERICK A. Some old facts reinterpreted. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 378-381.
73.* HODGE, RICHARD M. The development of social consciousness in the sunday school. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 523-529.
74.* HUGHES, PERCY. The types of religious attitude. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 272-281.
75.* JONES, GEORGE HEBER. The Edinburgh conference and the missionary message in its relation to non-christian religions. *Jour. of Race Development*, Oct., 1910. Vol. 1, pp. 147-155.
76.* KAPLAN, JACOB H. Psychology of prophecy. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 168-203.
77. KLINE, LINUS W. A study in juvenile ethics. *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1903. Vol. 10, pp. 239-266.
78. —— ——. The sermon: A study in social psychology *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905. Vol. 1, pp. 288-300.
79. LEUBA, JAMES H. National destruction and construction in France as seen in modern literature and in the neo-christian movement. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, July, 1893. Vol. 5, pp. 496-539.

80. LEUBA, JAMES H. The psycho-physiology of the moral imperative. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, July, 1897. Vol. 8, pp. 528-559.
81. ——— ———. The state of death. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, July, Oct., 1903. Vol. 14, pp. 397-409.
82. ——— ———. Faith. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 65-82.
83. ——— ———. The field and the problems of the psychology of religion. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 155-167.
84. ——— ———. Fear, awe and the sublime in religion: a chapter in the study of instincts, impulses and motives in religious life. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 1-23.
85. ——— ———. Religion as a factor in the struggle for life. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 307-343.
86. LOMBARD, FRANK A. Notes upon a study in the pedagogy of missions. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1904. Vol 1, pp. 113-128.
87.* MCCOY, JOHN J. Child nurture and education in catholic schools. *Proc. Child Conference for Research and Welfare*, 1910. Vol. 2, pp. 72-83.
88. MAYER-OAKES, F. T. The authority of Jesus and its meaning for the modern mind in the psychology of Jesus. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy., and Ed.*, July, 1911. Vol. 4, pp. 177-218.
89. MEYERHARDT, M. W. The movement for ethical culture at home and abroad. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 71-153.
90.* MORRIS, MARGARETTA. Magic and morals in Borneo. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 282-294.
91. MORSE, JOSIAH. Religion and immorality. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, July, 1911. Vol. 4, pp. 244-251.
92. MOSES, JOSIAH. The pathology of religions. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905. Vol. 1, pp. 217-247.
93.* OOSTERHEERDT, A. Religion as a matter of feeling—A critisicm. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 62-75.
94. ——— ———. Religion as functional, metaphysical, and normative; an exposition. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 141-159.
95. PRATT, JAMES B. Types of religious belief. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 76-94.
96. ——— ———. Concerning the origin of religion. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 257-271.
97. ——— ———. An empirical study of prayer. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1910. Vol. 4, pp. 48-67.
98.* RANSON, S. WALTER. Studies in the psychology of prayer. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 129-142.
99.* ROBINSON, CHARLES F. Some psychological elements in famous superstitions. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905. Vol. 1, pp. 248-267.

100.* Robinson, V. P. The conception of God of college students; a study in religious psychology. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 247-257.

101.* Rogers, James F. Physical and moral training. *Ped. Sem.*, Sept., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 301-304.

102.* Royse, Clarence D. The psychology of Saul's conversion. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 143-154.

103. St. John, Edward P. Criticism of present sunday school fads, curriculum and grades, with demonstration of text-books. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 519-522.

104. Saunders, F. H. and Hall, G. Stanley. Pity. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, July, 1900. Vol. 11, pp. 534-591.

105.* Schoff, Mrs. Frederick. The home at the basis of civic, social and moral uplift. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1909. Vol. 16, pp. 473-481.

106.* Schroeder, Theodore. Religion and sensualism as connected by clergymen. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 16-28.

107.* Sharp, Frank Chapman. An objective study of some moral judgments. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1898. Vol. 9, pp. 198-234.

108. Starbuck, Edwin D. A study of conversion. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1897. Vol. 8, pp. 268-308.

109. —— ——. The feelings and their place in religion. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 168-186.

110. Street, J. Richard. A study in moral education. *Ped. Sem.*, July, 1897. Vol. 5, pp. 5-40.

111.* Strong, Anna L. The relation of the subconscious to prayer. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 160-167.

112.* Super, Charles W. The psychology of christian hymns. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, May, 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 1-15.

113.* Talbert, E. L. Waste involved in church methods. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 236-246.

114. Tanner, Amy E. Children's religious ideas. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1906. Vol. 13, pp. 511-513.

115.* Twe, Dihdwo. A message from Africa, *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, June, 1907. Vol. 2, pp. 295-306.

116.* Whatham, Arthur E. The outward form of the original sin; a new study of Genesis 3. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905. Vol. 1, pp. 268-287. (with a note on Genesis 3, in vol. 3, pp. 154-159.)

117. —— ——. The origin of circumcision. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905. Vol. 1, pp. 301-315.

118. —— ——. The origin of human sacrifice—including an explanation of the Hebrew Asherah. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, March, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 24-61.

119.* WHATHAM, ARTHUR E. The magic girdle of Aphrodite. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 366-377.

120. ——— ———. The origin and significance of the Egyptian ankh. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Nov., 1908. Vol. 3, pp. 381-384.

121. ——— ———. The sign of the mother-goddess. *Am. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, July, 1911. Vol. 4, pp. 252-309.

122.* WOOLSTON, H. B. Religious emotion. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, Jan., 1902. Vol. 13, pp. 62-79.

121549
P Journal of religious psychology
Philos Vol. 4, 1910-11.
J

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU